1-1-1980

A conceptual analysis of the framework and implications of work satisfaction research and practice.

Gretchen M. Ramirez Sosa
University of Massachusetts Amherst

A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMEWORK AND IMPLICATIONS OF WORK SATISFACTION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

A Dissertation Presented

By

GRETCHEN M. RAMIREZ SOSA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February 1980

Psychology Department

A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF
THE FRAMEWORK AND IMPLICATIONS OF
WORK SATISFACTION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

A Dissertation Presented

By

GRETCHEN M. RAMIREZ SOSA

Approved as to style and content by:

David M. Todd, Chairperson of Committee

Castellano B. Turner, Member

Howard Gadlin, Member

Paula L. Stamps, Member

Bonnie R. Strickland, Department Head
Psychology Department

Esta labor esta parcialmente dedicada
a mis padres, Hilda Sosa y Jose Ramírez
- por su cariño y su ejemplo
y a mis compadres, Magali Ramírez y Carlos Carpintero
- por sus pensamientos y persistencia.
Principalmente se la ofrezco
a mi querido esposo Francisco Maldonado
- quien, cuando mas lo necesité, se
hizo cargo del resto de mi vida
y a nuestro hijo, Francisco José Maldonado-Ramírez
- quien, alegremente, constituye gran parte
de ese resto de mi vida.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the committee members who participated in the development of this dissertation. Even at long distance they remained willing to guide the direction of this research. Drs. Cass Turner and Howard Gadlin, were supportive and prompt with their feedback. Dr. Paula Stamps' professional behavior continues to be a particularly motivating inspiration. Dr. David Todd has for many years been my counselor and the chairperson of my major graduate projects. Specifically, in the present study, he deserves recognition for having solidified and illustrated my impressions by suggesting the multi-level chart used as the model for studying work alienation. In general, I especially appreciate his flexibility in allowing me to find my own route through the academic environment.

I would also like to thank the Ford Foundation and the services of the Educational Testing Service. Their Fellowship program gave me the opportunity and ample support to actualize my aspirations.

Finally, and very sincerely, I would like to thank my typist, Mrs. Janet Rios, for her quite unique sense of responsibility and expertise.

ABSTRACT

A Conceptual Analysis of
the Framework and Implications of
Work Satisfaction Research and Practice

February 1980

Gretchen M. Ramirez Sosa, B.S., University of Puerto Rico

M.S., University of Massachusetts, Ph.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor David M. Todd

The purpose of the present conceptual analysis is to begin to formulate a new and broader theoretical framework for the study of work satisfaction. It begins by providing a background to the study of work. Selected approaches which focus on social, economic and political variables rather than on the exclusive study of organizational and individual characteristics are presented in a Model for the Study of Work Alienation. This multi-level model proposes that system-wide, organizational and individual factors are necessary elements of interest for the study of organizational behavior. The level of worker consciousness regarding their industrial democratic rights is also included since it plays an important role in understanding the perpetuation of alienation across time and in showing some possible directions in the future of work humanization projects.

In contrast, the work satisfaction research and applied work is observed to be strongly theoretically and methodologically bound

to organizational and psychological levels. Economic and social forces are recognized as instrumental in maintaining the area's restricted theoretical scope and its selective use of methods which emphasize the analysis of worker motivation and its relationship to productivity. These considerations are discussed in relation to how they, in turn, affect the focus, development and implementation of applied work redesign efforts.

Comparing foreign and American work redesign cases shows the liabilities involved in limiting organizational intervention to fewer levels than those recognized in the model presented initially. Foreign efforts are categorized under three headings (workers' participation, workers' control or workers' self-management) and these are discussed in terms of the breadth of these programs, their economic and political overtones and the reactions which they awaken in workers, unions and managers-owners. Recent American work redesign efforts are similarly analyzed and the conclusion is reached that both approaches contain different essential but insufficient variables for thorough inquiry into the subject of work alienation.

Finally, a synthesis between the alienation and satisfaction perspectives is offered. Consistent with the model presented earlier, it is suggested that a situational perspective that considers elements from the widest to the most individual levels can be fruitful

in the development of a critical framework for the area. It could also prove to be fertile groundwork for the theoretical and empirical study of many still unexplored subjects in the currently relevant area of work satisfaction.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

PREFACE

The present analysis of work satisfaction in the United States originated from various unanswered questions that I encountered as a student of Organizational Psychology. The lack of critical analyses of this field led me to attempt to bring together references that focused on the politically moderate and conservative effect of organizational consulting. In general, such references also endorse an alternative and wider social approach to the problems of work dissatisfaction.

In using a wider perspective, I accept that the lack of worker satisfaction is more than a widespread individual characteristic of the work force. The theoretical framework used in this theoretical study proposes that focusing on a fragmented view of which elements of work are being satisfied for the individual provides an incomplete "average" explanation of alienated labor. Instead, a sociological view of alienation proposes that this is a social problem, which can be ameliorated by altering the system's characteristics, such as the existing hierarchical structures of work. Therefore, in this analysis I focus extensively on the need for work satisfaction consultants to include a more universalistic view of their work, one which recognizes the important role of the type of industrial system under which each study is developed and which accepts that work satisfaction varies

according to the different social situations in question.

Aside from my personal interest in learning about these issues, I wanted to begin to develop a new direction for the work satisfaction area that could provide a synthesis of the positive aspects of both the work alienation and work satisfaction perspectives. To that effect this conceptual analysis offers those interested in organizational behavior a collection of ideas on work satisfaction that are not usually found in an organizational course syllabus. The reader will also find herein criticisms of the area. In addition the section on industrial democracy in foreign settings is geared to bring together a variety of options available when designing the structure of work and the ideological repercussions of some of these designs.

It is of paramount importance that the work satisfaction analyst recognize the ideological effect of her work. For example, in structuring the work flow, the hierarchical, routinized, fragmented arrangements have traditionally been presented as most productive and profitable. At the same time, decentralized and "enriched" jobs are more fulfilling for the worker but have been shunned as less efficient. For years, studies have attempted to demonstrate a positive correlation between satisfaction and productivity. In the present study, I propose that there are working arrangements that at least do not decrease productivity levels while effectively reducing worker

alienation.

Yet, the reality is that, at times, the satisfaction analyst will have to make a decision regarding a work reform that may negatively affect productivity. The decision carries ideological implications insofar as it involves maintaining the current power structure on one side and decentralizing or distributing power and tasks on the other. Traditionally, the work satisfaction consultant in the United States has put forth proposals that have not drastically altered the power structure.

At this point, we must allude not only to the effect of these proposals, but also to the intention behind them. Do we hold consultants responsible for continuing on a moderate/conservative road to work reform (since their approach conveniently perpetuates the position of their present sponsors)? Or do we accept that change agents actually see no better alternative than the actual surface reforms observed in human relations and job enrichment programs?

Aside from intention, there is also the question of values of satisfaction analysts as a professional group. There is little written about the clash of values of the consultant who wants a more humanitarian environment and the organizational leader who defends his economic priorities as responsibilities to himself, his stockholders and his subordinates. I found this controversy addressed

in writings on European work reform. The fact that it is not commonly alluded to in American writings may give the impression that there is no controversy between consultants and owners, that for both, productivity is still, as Blauner (1964) says, the "cake," while satisfaction remains the secondary "icing."

Those are some of the issues that prompted me to develop an analysis of the area, and which secondarily offer a source of information on alternative approaches to the study of work satisfaction. Chapter I, in fact, introduces the reader to the importance of the field by initially exposing the primary nature of the need to arrest the existing nationwide worker alienation. A selection of theories and explanations of alienation were purposefully chosen for their focus on the wider system as the origin and as a changeable stage for the reduction of work dissatisfaction. In addition, Chapter I also addresses the effect of social norms in perpetuating alienation and promoting conformism among workers. I summarize this approach into a model for studying work alienation which will guide our inquiries into the job satisfaction area and work redesign in Europe and America.

Once these ideas on what I consider to be the basis for studying work satisfaction have been presented, Chapter II analyzes the current status of the field in the United States. In this chapter I focus on the area of work satisfaction, its theories, its methods and how

it interprets the results of applied organizational research. I also discuss the particular situation of the work analyst, in order to understand the personal variables involved in the development of the area.

As contrast, in Chapter III we will review foreign experiences with work redesign, which are generally developed under a framework closer to the work alienation paradigm. The section on industrial democracy provides an overview of alternative ways to organize work. In addition to observing the specific advances in foreign worker participatory models, Chapter III reviews current work reform in the American scene.

In Chapter IV I present my views on how to approach the study of organizational behavior and some of the minimum requirements for a satisfying working environment. As we learn from foreign paradigms, the industrial and economic system provides some benefits and limitations that need to be acknowledged in all attempts to study work satisfaction. This implies that consultants should recognize the political results of their work since they will be partly responsible for how swiftly and thoroughly alienation is eradicated from the American work environment.

I hope that this theoretical study can be a step towards motivating readers to make this area the fascinating instigator of change

that I envision it can be. The study of work satisfaction must be a primary concern of all who care to make work a more ecologically pleasant experience for people. The practitioner of this field has the opportunity to effect direct change in one of the most important aspects of human life. There are other disciplines dedicated almost exclusively to the promulgation of efficiency and to the discovery of ways to increase production. Those of us interested in the psychological well-being of the worker must initially function to help them learn how to manage themselves and their environment. Only knowledge about and participation in the decisions that affect their organizations will begin to achieve this change. Later on there will hopefully be no need for the services of work satisfaction consultants.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF WORK

> *To punish him atrociously, to crush him in such a manner that the more hardened criminal would tremble before such punishment--it would be necessary only to give his works the character of complete uselessness (Dostoevski, "House of the Dead")*

The area of organizational behavior has included the study of job satisfaction among workers in the United States. Dissatisfaction with work is so characteristic in modern organizations that this field focuses less on documenting the presence of satisfaction than on showing the differences in dissatisfaction among various groups and backgrounds (Yankelovich, 1978; Work in America, 1973; Walfish, 1979).

The present analysis of job satisfaction studies is based on the following considerations. First, we should initially agree that this reality, to be faced daily with a dissatisfying work situation is an undesirable and unfortunate predicament. Yet, workers at all levels and among most occupations report dissatisfaction with work, as has been extensively chronicled by organizational psychologists, sociologists, economists and others (Argyris, 1957; Bell, 1947; Braverman, 1974; Best and Connolly, 1976). Second, traditional approaches to understanding this condition have not been effective in preventing its development in new settings, nor in ameliorating its spread.

Third, if traditional conceptualizations, methods and proposals are not having the desired result, new alternatives must be considered. Some novel approaches are actually being tested in European and other foreign settings, as well as in a small minority of experiments in the United States. Fourth, to consider and develop new perspectives, we must expose practitioners, researchers and students of the area to their existence, viabilities and limitations.

The four points mentioned describe the general subject of each of the chapters in this dissertation. Briefly, Chapter I presents a rationale and a suggested framework for the analysis of worker alienation. In Chapter II, this background is contrasted to the traditional approach towards work satisfaction studies in the United States. Chapter III reviews current foreign and American alternatives of work redesign and their effect on decreasing alienation at work. Finally, in Chapter IV, redefinitions of the area and of work satisfaction are offered, together with an evaluation of the framework used throughout this study.

After presenting the rationale for the analysis of work satisfaction, this analysis accepts the notion that system-wide elements are key factors in understanding and eventually decreasing the rate of worker alienation. Nothing short of a resocialization process is envisioned as the initial step towards workplace democracy. Social

norms that reinforce strict hierarchical structures as inevitable and effective can be altered in the face of new evidence to the contrary. Political support for extending democracy into the work environment is needed and is already a reality in many countries. Economic priorities that allow work structure reforms only when these translate into increased productivity have, at times, begun to recognize a social responsibility when labor demands it.

As can be observed, a basic idea of this study is that these larger issues which directly affect organizational behavior--and which have been largely slighted as variables of study in organizational research--should be of primary interest and consideration in studying job satisfaction. Coupled with a situational perspective of each case study, these wider issues could provide a more comprehensive view and new possibilities for tackling the problem of work alienation.

These are some of the issues discussed throughout this dissertation. The method chosen to analyze studies of work satisfaction is educational in the sense that it is hoped that the contents will familiarize readers with different conceptualizations of work satisfaction, its study and the possibilities of creating a more humane workplace. The theories and alternative programs referenced were chosen purposefully for their recognition of system-wide factors--and not the individual worker--as focus for the understanding of alienating

work structure. This deliberate selection of topics, references and other programs of work structure reform, then, are brought together in the present study as an alternative source of reference. The expected audience for this work is the person interested in understanding organizational behavior through perspectives different from that which appears in management literature where most work satisfaction studies are currently reported.

As stated initially, this first chapter will establish a rationale for the study of work satisfaction and its redefinition as a component of the more complex analysis of worker alienation. In addition, its perpetuation in the modern work environment in the United States is explained as it is supported by existing social norms and beliefs. We now turn our attention to these basic issues.

The Study and Functions of Work

There are millions of working persons in this country. Their numbers alone would seem impressive enough to justify the development of an area of study in order to understand their organizational behavior. But other, more pressing circumstances demand our attention in this regard. For example, there are countless persons who will have little option but to accept monotonous work; there are also scores of workers whose unsatisfying jobs are already taking a toll

on the persons' well-being (Work in America, 1973).

It is the latter that concerns the work satisfaction analyst. In this section, we will review some of the social, political and economic effects of work on people. My intent is to demonstrate that these consequences can have a detrimental effect on workers' physical and mental health and, as such, should be regarded as an inherent part of the study of work satisfaction.

Work in America (1973), the report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, reviewed work studies and developed its own analysis of the state of work in the United States. It emphasizes the importance of job satisfaction by stating that it appears to be the best predictor of

> longevity--better than known medical or genetic factors--and various aspects of work account for much, if not most, of the factors associated with heart disease (p. xvii).

This association between health and the quality of work life is not a new discovery. Among others, Marx pointed to the physical and mental distortions caused by alienating work (Ollman, 1976). Frederick Taylor also linked poor mental health with workers' willingness to adjust to extremely repetitive working arrangements (Zimbalist, 1975).

The social consequences of work have a more immediate impact than health issues on human behavior. Social relations are affected by

highly structured systems of work which limit a person's opportunity to interact with others. Argyris (1957) has argued that strict hierarchical arrangements are indeed conducive to stifled personal and interpersonal development. As creativity and spontaneity become subsumed to efficiency criteria, work directly determines the possibilities of human development. Furthermore, insofar as workers at specific organizational levels relate to their daily jobs in similar environments, they tend to develop matching ideologies, life-styles and interests, all of which are affected by the economic limitations of income. Such characteristics are inherently linked to class distinctions, and, therefore, work can be recognized as an important element in the formation of social classes (Bowles and Gintis, 1975).

The relationship of work to political life has also become evident. Work in America (1973) states that voting preferences and allegiance to political factions are both affected by the relations at work and the limitations of fragmented tasks. According to that report, alienation or lack of participation in the structuring of work leads to increased acceptance of authoritarianism in government. In contrast, workers accustomed to participating, sharing the responsibilities and profits of their work will expect and achieve no less in the political arena. In the same way, Strauss (1974) has indicated that political fatalism and low tolerance for minorities are inversely

related to the quality of work life. Zimbalist (1975) reports on Pateman's 1970 study which shows a dynamic relationship between authoritarianism at work and political participation. In that study, she reviews the experiments conducted in Scandinavia and other countries and concludes that people showed more involvement with political democracy issues when they had experienced local community and industrial democracy first. Lindenfeld (1973) has also underlined the relationship between alienation and politics by suggesting that a pro-war attitude among workers may reflect the aggression accumulated during unsatisfying work.

Other authors (Seeman, 1967; Kasl, 1977) deny that alienation at work is reflected in the person's family, social or political life. Strauss (1974) also reminds us that economic and other variables may be more influential in affecting a person's life than alienating work. In this sense, then, the analysis of organizational behavior and its underlying commitment to improve the quality of work life could conceivably be regarded as "luxury concerns," especially when compared with matters such as job insecurity or unemployment. Blauner (1964) points to this when, as mentioned before, he describes his study of work alienation as the icing while perhaps the main characters of his study, the workers, were only concerned about the cake.

But to consider the absence of alienation and the presence of

job satisfaction as ornamental is deluding: unsatisfied workers will either leave their jobs or continue to spend most of their waking hours deprecating their work. The majority of the evidence [for example, see Michigan's large scale (Walfish, 1979) study] supports the notion that work alienation has strong negative effects over the person's life, even outside their work.[1] In addition, large-scale studies show that even if pay and other material concerns are important to workers, labor continues to increase its demand for more autonomy and control of their worklife (Work in America, 1973; White, 1977; Walfish, 1979; Jenkins, 1974). The study of organizational behavior and the interest in improving the quality of work life may well represent an essential element in the hope for a more satisfying life, whether this be at work or extended to include other aspects of human involvement.

Having discussed the importance of studying and decreasing work alienation, our next step should be that of familiarization with its causes and development. A look at selected alienation theories will provide a background for our next goal of evaluating the study of work satisfaction in the United States.

---

[1]Note, also the recent surge of studies on the relationship between work and non-work lives (Bamundo, 1977; Hunt, 1978; Peretti and Zrout, 1975).

Selected Conceptualizations of Work Alienation

The purpose of this section is to lay the groundwork for our analysis of work satisfaction studies in the United States. I was concerned with the definition of work satisfaction found in the organizational literature, since there were few references of its relationship to the social, political, economic and industrial system in question. In this section, we attempt to look at other conceptualizations of worker discontent and determine if they can bridge this gap and aid in our understanding of work satisfaction.

In Chapter II we will look at four mainstream approaches to the study of job satisfaction (discrepancy, equity, fulfillment and two-factor) in more detail. For now, it is enough to state that none of these theories of work satisfaction go further than the organization as framework for analysis.[2]

Believing that the individual and her organization were two essential, but not sufficient, elements of consideration in this field, I resorted to conceptualizations of worker behavior found in sociological and economic literatures.

---

[2]In fact, even frameworks for organizational analyses in general (as opposed to satisfaction studies) go no further than the admission that the organization is rooted in a specific cultural milieu (cf. Litterer, 1973; Lawless, 1972; Hersey and Blanchard, 1972; Kolt, Rubin and McIntyre, 1974).

These latter approaches have various issues in common. For example, the term "work dissatisfaction" is preferred over "work alienation." This is an important distinction since the former has traditionally been limited to work and organizational concerns, while the latter involves wider social structure factors. Nord (1977) further commented on these two terms that

> ...dissatisfaction is not the same thing as alienation. Moreover, the experience of alienation resulting from powerlessness is a positive outcome, because people who feel powerless are apt to be agents for social change. Thus, whereas the meaningful work → job satisfaction view leads to a focus on rearrangement of work within existing social structures, the powerlessness → alienation view induces a focus on the social structures themselves (p. 1031).

Best and Connolly (1976) also distinguish between the traditional "motivation" term for this area of study and the alienation perspective. They consider the first to emphasize productivity and efficiency and the latter to focus on fulfilling the workers' needs.

Like Nord, Seybolt and Gruenfeld (1976) wanted to determine if there was a distinction between satisfaction and alienation perspectives. These last authors were specifically concerned with the discriminant validity of work alienation and work satisfaction measures. They hypothesized that if these concepts did in fact differ, each should be easily discriminated from the other in various relationship with on-the-job and demographic variables. The authors chose to compare Seeman's (1967) alienation scale and Smith et al.'s (1969)

satisfaction with work scale. Their results indicate that, in general, these scales were highly related. Most of the relationships between work alienation and the other variables were drastically reduced when controlling for satisfaction. Two exceptions are evident. The relationships between alienation and the subjects' education as well as their urban-rural background, were not reduced by controlling for satisfaction. In other words, the authors state, as proposed by Marx (1963) and Hulin and Blood (1968), depending on the socioeconomic background, some workers can be in alienating jobs while reporting high levels of satisfaction. Seybolt and Gruenfeld conclude that work alienation is better measured by "objective and situational" analyses of the organizational structure, than by testing the workers' attitudinal reaction to that structure.[3]

A second common issue of these perspectives is that alienation is not viewed as an individual maladjustment, but rather as characteristic of social issues or variables. These factors are seen as the

---

[3]While I agree with the general thrust of these authors' conclusions, I find that their recommendations focus on the continued reliance on consultant's analyses while the workers' role remains a passive one. If workers are unconsciously alienated as they report high satisfaction with work this assessment must arise both from the consultant's observation as well as from the workers' reaction to key issues. Making them aware of less estrangening alternatives could be an initial step in helping the worker to make "objective and situational" assessments of their own circumstances in the future. This is further discussed in Chapter IV.

necessary subject of change in order to prevent further development of alienation. For example, we will observe how these theories, (selected for their focus on systems, and not on individuals) relate the origins of alienation to the division of labor and private ownership (Marx); to organizational hierarchies and size (Tannenbaum, et al.); to the meaninglessness and powerlessness of workers (Blauner); and to a historical tracing of modern work which shows that the control of workers was one very important goal for the industrialists (Bowles and Gintis).

It is important to keep in mind that these approaches to worker alienation do not imply that traditional conceptualizations of worker satisfaction/dissatisfaction are incorrect. Rather, these socio-economic and political considerations highlight the need for a historical and system-wide approach to the study of work. Our intent is to show that within wider perspectives we find theory and rich groundwork which will make our work more complex and accurate and as such, cannot be disregarded as outside the realm of organizational psychology and behavior. These conceptualizations of worker alienation will form the theoretical bases for this study. We now turn to discussion of these issues.

Our first approach comes from the economic perspective on alienation. It has often been argued that economics provides the foundations

for understanding alienation among workers (Houck, 1977). Nord (1974) has criticized American organizational analysts for failing to consider the socioeconomic ideas of Karl Marx on the subject of work dissatisfaction. The Marxist perspective does in fact provide a theoretical framework for attempts to humanize the workplace, and its historical approach to the study of social, technical and economic changes have not been an accepted alternative among organizational students (Tannenbaum, et al., 1974).

According to the Marxist theory, workers in capitalist systems experience alienation in a number of ways (Ollman, 1976). Alienation from work occurs since the worker has no part in deciding how the tasks are to be achieved; alienation from product happens, because the producer has no control over what goods are to be produced, nor how these will be put to use; alienation from fellow workers develops between classes (owners and workers) and within classes as well, due to competition for scarce resources; finally, alienation from species is observed by noting that what differentiates people from other species--human ability to develop skills, express their power and demonstrate adaptability and intensity in individual productive tasks--is taken away in capitalist work relations. In other words, "... work has become a means to stay alive rather than life being an opportunity to do work" (Ollman, 1976, p. 151). Workers actively

participate in the continuation of their alienation since the means of production block their potential to realize ways of gaining control of their work lives. This obstacle is further enhanced by hierarchical organizations, which booster competition and isolate people who could otherwise unite and combine their strengths and demands. Marx offers the following explanation of alienation:

> "First, the fact that labor is external to the worker, i.e. it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working, and when he is working he is not at home. His labor is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it's forced labor. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it" (Bowles and Gintis, 1975, p. 16).

According to the theory, the worker sells her labor and, by doing so, surrenders her interest in and becomes alienated from the labor process. The capitalist assumes ownership of workers' time and determines to a degree the development of their skills by assigning workers to subdivided and repetitive tasks. The owner of capital can then dissect a craft, divide the mental and physical aspects of it and purchase that semi-skilled labor more cheaply than it would cost to pay for the integrated capacity in one worker (Braverman, 1974). It allows the owner not only an economic gain, but also the continued control over labor. Workers are therefore alienated from the labor

process, from the final product and from fellow workers.

From the Marxist point of view, then, private ownership and the division of labor are primary determinants of worker alienation. Tannenbaum, et al., (1974) were interested in this perspective. They wanted to compare worker behavior in socialist and capitalist environments to determine if a Marxist point of view allowed for greater job satisfaction. These authors surveyed workers in organizations where private ownership had been abolished, and found that they still had a highly structured division of labor. They found that worker alienation--as measured by job satisfaction surveys--was not lower in some countries where private ownership did not exist. Tannenbaum et al., reported that organizational size and the introduction of highly specialized technology predicted lack of work satisfaction better than culture or ownership. After a large scale survey of workers in Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, Israel and the United States, they stated that

> ...large organizations are created because of the drive for profit and they are an outgrowth, therefore of capitalist values and modes of production. Large organizations need not arise in the absence of the profit motive and the subjugation of man to machine, or what Marx called the "real submission of man to capital" need not occur. In this view, industry in socialist countries represents a compromise of socialism. The truly socialist enterprise will have to be small.

In other words, Tannenbaum, et al., suggest that alienation is

fostered by the technology and structure common to large organizations, which was designed to speed up production while keeping manufacturing--and labor--costs down. Even in socialist settings, they report, the formalized patterns of worker participation to not erase the "discriminating effects of hierarchy" in the work context.

Tannenbaum's results (1975) were predictable from Robert Blauner's (1964) work on "Alienation and Freedom." Blauner recognizes four types of alienation normally experienced by workers in highly technological and hierarchical settings: powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation from society and self-estrangement from present work. These fragmentations in people's work impede the development of what Blauner considers to be the ideal wholeness of experience and activity.

Blauner hypothesizes, as Marx did, that the less control workers have over their jobs, the more alienation they will experience. This reasoning traces the craftperson's loss of freedom during the highly technical era exemplified in the assembly-line method. Since Blauner believes that the American workplace will not accept a reversion to the organizational structure of the craft era, he believed that increased automation, such as the one seen in the continued-process industry, held the less alienating alternative for workers. He stated that this type of industry

> shows that automation increases the worker's control over his work process and checks the further division of labor and

> growth of large factories. The result is meaningful work in a more cohesive, integrated industrial climate (p. 182).

Blauner's ideas to fight alienation are not directly linked to changes in social, political or economic conditions which have also been identified as the core of work alienation. For example, Bowles and Gintis (1975) and Edwards (1972; 1979) define alienation and its obliteration within a sociohistorical concept of the dominant interests of the times.

As political economists, Bowles and Gintis (1975) begin by explaining the social functions that hierarchical structures have over low-level workers. First, they suggest, profits for the capitalist demand that organizational structures maintain worker control via strict hierarchical arrangements. In hierarchical structures work is divided into thinking (managerial) and production (worker) tasks. Second, this division of labor has the effect of keeping workers separated from each other and from management, who designs work with profit as the primary goal. In the process, workplace reform acquires importance only when it can be used to increase production (cf. Braverman, 1974).

This second factor is of crucial importance. Like Blauner, Bowles and Gintis believe that modern technology has alienated labor. Yet the latter authors go on to explain the socioeconomic reasons why these events came to happen. As stated previously, they agree that

mere change of private to public ownership of industry has a trivial effect upon reducing alienation. What seems important is the morality behind the modern technological design.

The owner of capital paid for the design of a technology that guaranteed the most production while allowing for best control of the worker. Socialist countries, continue Bowles and Gintis, borrowed their technological foundations from Western designs. Therefore, we find alienated labor not only under private ownership, but wherever the technology was designed exclusively for production, without considering the effects it would have over people.

Finally, the authors explain the mistaken notion that strict hierarchies and a widespread division of labor, as known in modern industry, represent the most efficient forms of production. Many non-hierarchical and alternative work structures (some to be discussed in Chapter III) have proven to be more efficient than the traditional hierarchical division of labor (Work in America, 1973). However, according to Bowles and Gintis, control of labor, instead of efficiency, has dictated the design of work in many cases. They reject the notion of technological determinism and narrate how, for example, in the 1890's a large American steel corporation introduced strict hierarchical structures of work which did away with the skilled workers' former veto power over management-proposed changes. Once control

became centralized in management, efficiency demanded the maintenance of fragmented tasks. They suggest that

> ...the (experimental) evidence indicates that "decentralized structures have an advantage for tasks which are difficult, complex or unusual, while centralized structures are more effective for those which are simple and routinized."[4] Turning this proposition around, we find that, given that the corporate unit is based on centralized control, the most efficient technologies will be those involving routinized, dull and repetitive tasks. In a decentralized environment, the reverse would be true. This shows that the common opinion as to the superior productivity of fragmentation, as based on the observed operation of centralized corporate enterprise, entails a false inference from the facts (p. 22).

The idea that industrial technology originated according to owners' economic and social purposes and not according to an "objective" standard of efficiency, is an important one. It can be reversed to propose that technological and structural considerations can be made with workers' economic and social welfare as primary goals.[5] This notion also highlights an essential characteristic of modern work: the lack of worker control over his activities and product. This reality was not only a side-effect of industrialization; according to some, it was a clear goal. The Work Relations Group (1978) found that a prominent

---

[4]See Finch, Jones, and Litterer (1976) for a discussion on organizational communications, structure and efficiency.

[5]This is one of the topics of interest to the recent socio-political historians of work (Work Relations Group, 1978; Gutman, 1977; Edwards, 1972 and 1979; Braverman, 1974; Zimbalist, 1975). Empirical evidence in this regard is discussed in detail in Chapter III.

coal operator of the mid-1890's stated that machine mining was introduced

> not so much for its saving in direct costs as for the indirect economy in having to control a fewer number of men for the same output. It is a weapon with which to meet organized skilled labor and their unreasonable demands... As the machine does the mining, the proportion of skilled labor is largely reduced, and the result is found in less belligerence and conflict; a sufficient inducement though the cost be the same (Amsden and Brier, 1978).

So it can be argued that although highly structured and technological environments are highly efficient at present, had organizations not become centralized, the most efficient work methods could have been different and less alienating ones. Weber (1976) himself, while stating that bureaucratization aided in establishing a leveling of social differences, accepted that democracy and bureaucratization were frequently at odds.[6] The application of this thought to the

---

[6]Weber wrote that

> ...democracy inevitably comes into conflict with the bureaucratic tendencies which, by its fight against notable rule, democracy has produced. The generally loose term 'democratization' cannot be used here, insofar as it is understood to mean the minimization of the civil servants' ruling power in favor of the greatest possible 'direct' rule of the demos, which in practice means the respective party leaders of the demos. The most decisive thing here--indeed it is rather exclusively so--is the leveling of the governed in opposition to the ruling and bureaucratically articulated group, which in its turn may occupy a quite autocratic position, both in fact and in form. ...'democracy as such is opposed to the 'rule' of bureaucracy, in spite and perhaps because of its unavoidable yet unintended promotion of bureaucratization. Under certain conditions, democracy creates obvious ruptures and blockages to bureaucratic organization. Hence, in every individual historical case, one must observe in what special direction bureaucratization has developed (in Gerth and Mills, 1976).

modern work setting is the purpose of much of the literature found in the present theoretical study, which calls for modification of highly technical, hierarchical and bureaucratic structures and for the implementation of what is commonly known as 'workplace democracy.'

Summarizing these selected works on alienation, we observe, first, the influence of the larger socioeconomic system on the development of alienation. Marx identified work alienation as the result of the capitalist industrial order. Blauner thought that technology was the key variable in causing and, ultimately, in abolishing the alienation of labor. Tannenbaum, et al., conclude that since technology and impersonal organizations were alienating and effective only in a drive for profit, they must be adjusted to fit people's need for more control over their work process. Bowles and Gintis concur with the evidence above and historically trace the development of alienation which began under the capitalist system but has since spread to wherever technology was designed with production as its primary goal, regardless of its potential effect on human labor.

There are many similarities in these authors' views on alienation at work. All believe in more worker control of her environment. All make some form of social comment, even if it is only in the recognition of people's role in the development of technology. Most adopt a sociological view of the problem and historically trace its development

through the technological progress of modern industry.

These variables have affected the direction of research in the work alienation area. The Work in America Institute's (1978) extensive literature review on worker alienation shows that definitions of the term vary widely but most authors agree that it applies to socially--not psychologically--based problems which affect people negatively. Its manifestations are recognized generally as general dissatisfaction, low self-identity, lack of goals, conservatism, political apathy, aggression towards others unlike the self and at times mild paranoia.

It is fitting, therefore, that we comment upon the ideological environment that has accompanied the development of worker alienation. It seems that the perpetuation of alienation to our present day must be due to more than work design. In the next section we look into some of the workers' economic and social beliefs and how these have in fact aided in perpetuating their alienation from work.

The Perpetuation of Alienation

The word 'alienation' refers to a separation or division. In 1947, Daniel Bell suggested that the prime definition of satisfaction should be the integration of work with leisure. According to him, satisfaction in general was best exemplified by the artisan class of

last century, and the creative workers of today. But for most workers, the onset of industrialization and office bureaucratization brought drastic changes to their worklives.

People's identity is often expressed as their role at work. It follows, then, that the transformation from working at whole, integrated projects to the accomplishment of varied, fragmented tasks would convey an adjustment in the perception of self that may not always be pleasant. One of the consequences of this transformation is the separation of work and the rest of a person's life.

A survey of American workers at all organizational levels has shown that separating home and work life is the most common way to cope with tensions at work (Renwick and Lawler, 1978). In this country, Kasl (1977) states, very little research is being done to narrow the gap between work and leisure.[7] And, if some workers are able to leave their troubles at work and not transfer these tensions to home or leisure times, many others may not be able to do so.

A second way to deal with alienation is to unconsciously reject it. Unconscious alienation can be due to a number of factors. A

---

[7]Reinee Hansson commented in his conference on Work Humanization that in his country, Sweden, workers now value their leisure time more than they did twenty or thirty years ago. Recent trends in the American work force show similar responses (Walfish, 1979; Yankelovich, 1978). Sweden has begun to discard the old technology and bend strict bureaucracies to allow for more flexible work procedures and more worker participation in creating a satisfying environment.

person may be aware of her disadvantaged position in the hierarchical and social structure, yet never demand more control, or at least more fulfilling work (Caplow, 1954; Zukin, 1978). Blauner (1964) explains that if a person's education (or lack of it) has not awakened aspirations of fulfilling work or if the realistically available work opportunities do not include options for autonomous work, then the person will not commonly demand reforms based on his work satisfaction needs. Therefore, people accept the "natural order" of hierarchical and fragmented work structures. Marx had also referred to unconscious alienation, explaining that estrangement from work and self may block awareness of alienating elements in the environment.

This acceptance is reinforced by the dominant social values and work ethics. In this last section, we will review some of the notions about work which positively reinforce the acceptance of hierarchies to which people are subjected; other values reinforce persons to adapt to their environment rather than promoting movement towards change.

Regarding the study of cultural work norms, the Work Relations Group suggested that

> a great variety of ideologies and value systems have played a role in workers' struggles for greater control of the workplace. These have included traditional social and religious ideas... and more formal political beliefs... Sophisticated analysis of the interplay of ideologies in the workplace has barely begun (1979).

These value systems are generally identified as the culture's work ethic. One of the foundations of the American work ethic lies in the Protestant morality of self-sacrifice, admiration for technical development and bureaucratic order. Yet Crowfoot and Chesler (1974), Argyris (1957) and others have argued that such personal and structural characteristics are conducive to alienation and to stifled personal and interpersonal developments, while thwarting creativity and spontaneity.

Coupled with the admiration for bureaucratic order is the belief that if one works hard enough, one should be able to arrive at financial security, since opportunities are open to all. Ryan (1971) claims that this is the classical exceptionalistic outlook which blurs perception of universalistic causes and results in "blaming the victim." Mills (1943) had reached a similar conclusion by stating that this notion blocks from view the real obstacles to social improvement, because such expectations cannot be achieved without drastic alteration of the institutions which channel and promote them. The continued promulgation of the value "you-could-if-you-really-worked" is further cause of frustration to persons who can't find jobs, or workers in jobs which offer little chance for advancement or no opportunity for mobility at all (Work in America, 1973).

Another related assumption is the belief that every time someone

does make it to the top in an area of work, it is due to personal merit rather than to background advantages allowed by socioeconomic class. This fosters the notion that top persons are always more worthy than others below him/her and encourages defeatist self-perceptions at lower levels. Hierarchical perspectives are further legitimized by the belief that those at the top will accomplish their tasks "for the benefit of all" (Ringwald, 1974). It is obvious that these values are not conducive to mobilization to challenge the existing structures of work; therefore, their effect is political, since they reinforce the continuation of the present arrangements of work.[8]

Mills (1943) also points to the tendency to regard society as constantly in flux as another deterrent to alternative thoughts and structures. It would seem pointless to work towards changing the society if it is believed that society is in constant development and will take care of itself. This is of special relevance to the inequalities experienced by minority members. If the majority believes that all groups will eventually arrive at better economic well-being, it will offer little aid in breaking down opportunity barriers currently faced by minority groups. Therefore, the population comes to accept

---

[8]In fact, most of the literature which does prescribe change contains the ever-present reminder that these can and should be achieved within the present system. For examples, see Todd (1968), D'Aprix (1972) and Crowfoot and Chesler (1974).

inequality. At the same time,

> ...the stability of the system... is further enhanced because inequality itself divides groups that would have to be united if the system were to be altered. Each subordinate group is both exploited and a willing or unwilling participant in the exploitation of others (Best and Connolly, 1976).

Conformism is another characteristic of the work force in the United States. Believing that modern work structures are unchangeable, workers seldom demand the humanization of industrial systems. This conformism is broken only when labor asks for pay or benefit increases, but in America, there are few demands for work structure reform. In other words, when faced with unfulfilled expectations vs. conformism, many opt for the latter, in efforts to avoid dissonance and frustration. Furthermore, this reaction is not specific to lower class members, as Rodman (cited in Ryan, 1971) has suggested, but can be found in widespread proportions among dissatisfied workers at all levels of the organization (Ramirez, 1976). An unfortunate consequence of this response is, as Exton told the American Management Association in 1972, that people will adjust to unsatisfactory environments if they think there are no alternative efficient systems of work. This willingness to adjust, he says, has been instrumental for American management to maintain the workplace at its unnecessarily unsatisfactory level.

A crucial drawback of work related studies is the fact that few of them actually connect these values and tendencies of the society to

the lack of progress in the humanization of work. Friedenberg (1973) claims that the values of the American citizen promote the development of a "ressentiment" against any attempts that would make life easier for others. Explaining why work redesign and other measures for improving overall well-being proposed in Work in America have not been implemented, he concludes,

> ...the stumbling block is... the indignation and even rage that are aroused in the breasts of those whose lives have been suffused by being subordinated to the work ethic, at the prospect that anybody else might now be given a better chance in life than they had... throughout the report, ...the Task Force authors are reluctant to explore the role of working class values and institutions in maintaining the alienation they deplore. I am struck by the failure... to elucidate at any point the prime political role of working class ressentiment.... It is certainly not a peculiarly working class attribute; it is rife among all people who have been obliged to abandon or falsify their own needs and aims in order to fill roles assigned to them by others more powerful than they (p. 16).[9]

These considerations regarding the cultural and social norms which surround the workplace are essential components in the

---

[9]The survey of American workers done by Psychology Today found a recent example of this same phenomenon. They report:

> why do those who themselves have been discriminated against lack sympathy for affirmative action? We suspect this seeming contradiction might reflect older and deeper values going back to the Protestant ethic. If so, we would expect those in our sample to endorse the values of hard work and individualism. The results support this interpretation... (Renwick and Lawler, 1978).

This ressentiment and political conservatism could partly explain the role of unions in not supporting work redesign forcefully. Union participation in this regard is further discussed in Chapter III of this study.

development of organizational behavior and worker satisfaction. One important issue in the present analysis is the notion that the area of organizational psychology cannot only document the development of worker attitudes within this milieu but can also develop alternative social systems which could begin to break down the perpetuation of alienation.

Summary and Conclusions

Throughout this chapter, three main subjects, all interrelated, have been discussed. The first of these underlined the importance of work alienation studies. The relationship between work and a person's health, social and political views were examined in an effort to show the detrimental effects of alienating work. It was also concluded that even if aspects of work were irrelevant to the remaining elements of a person's life, the condition of satisfying and non-alienating work should be regarded as an integral part of a healthy working environment.

Second, the selected approaches to alienation highlighted the role of the larger socioeconomic system in giving rise to unfulfilling working conditions. The hierarchical division of labor and the technology of modern industry were identified as two of the major direct sources of worker alienation. In discussing this, the role of

industrialists regarding work structuring and machinery design was also observed.

Finally, in analyzing the perpetuation of alienation, we again notice the interplay of economic and sociopsychological forces in continuing to define work as an activity naturally controlled by others. Workers cope with this lack of freedom because they are unconscious of other alternatives or by consciously separating work from what they call their real life. Conformism is also aided by social values which emphasize a need for bureaucratic order and hierarchical structures. When mobility becomes impossible, other notions promote conformity, such as believing that those at the top work for the benefit of all, and that the present work system will always be more effective. This conformity does not promote movement towards radical social change where needed, while resentment grows against innovators of organizational issues.

These topics are summarized in Figure 1. This figure represents the major levels of concern for the study of work alienation. I believe that the role of this area is to recognize and assess the importance of these levels while developing an understanding of their interrelationship as they change (or refuse change) over time.

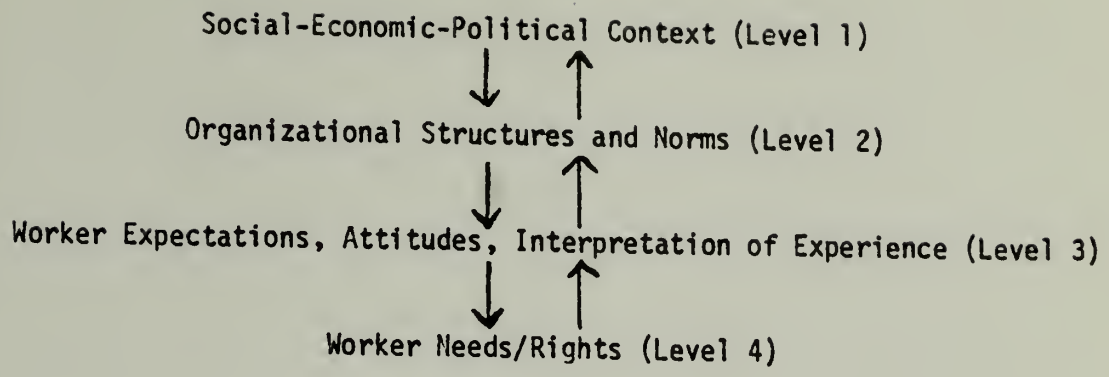

Figure 1. A model for the study of work alienation.

The first level concerns the social, economic and political context. In sections A and B of this chapter we discussed that work has social, political and economic effects over workers specifically because the way work is organized is generally more of a socioeconomic and political decision, and one which varies across different environments.

This context affects all other levels of interest. It affects the ways that organizational structures are chosen and socially accepted as the formalized norms. This second level in turn has repercussions on the issues that are voiced by workers as their expectations, their attitudes and their interpretation of the work experience. This third level refers to what is manifested in traditional work satisfaction surveys.

Finally, a fourth level of worker needs is recognized separate from the consciously expressed expectations and attitudes. These

needs include the rights of workers to certain work aspects of which they may or may not be aware.

The difference between levels 3 and 4 is what has been alluded to as unconscious alienation (cf. Blauner, 1964). What workers express as dissatisfactions may not involve aspects which they consider to be fixed or unchangeable, as discussed in section B of this chapter. For example, workers in the United States are not as aware of alternative organizational structures as are their counterparts in Europe. This could be one reason why workers in the United States are less likely to demand this right (to have a say in the structural design) of work-place democracy than are the European workers.

We have expressed how the role of an area interested in worker alienation should be to highlight the importance of these levels and to understand their interrelationship. Aside from the top-to-bottom direction which we discussed, there is a bottom-up and more complex relationship evident in Figure 1. This transactional relationship emphasizes the role of the organizational agent in possible system-wide change.

By initially focusing on the fourth level, the area of organizational psychology can aid in the elucidation of unexpressed worker needs in addition to the documentation of worker attitudes and expectations. The role of organizations in stifling or promoting certain

needs is also an essential part of work alienation studies. Finally, the possible avenues of certain social, economic and political changes (based on the knowledge of what worker rights need to be fulfilled) can be an integral part of this academic and field oriented area.

Figure 1 summarizes this chapter's rationale for the importance of broadening our conceptualization of worker satisfaction. The remaining chapters look at the study of work satisfaction in the light of the framework for studying alienation which has been presented herein. One purpose is to discern which of the levels of study proposed have been focused upon or ignored by the traditional approaches to work satisfaction. Another goal is to determine if our area of work satisfaction could be enriched by the use of a work alienation framework and to describe how we could arrive at a synthesis between these two perspectives.

As such, in Chapters II and III, we will discuss various themes: the role of organizational agents, unions, workers, managers and owners in the humanization of work movement; the need to make clear each of these groups' priorities in relation to the "profit" vs. "humane work" debate; the effect of hierarchy, control and economic system over the workers; and the present status of alternative organizational structures of work in America and elsewhere. As these subjects are analyzed, we will also look at the effect of these issues on the

satisfaction consultant's methodology and her role within the present social, professional and economic environment of the consulting environment of today.

There are some limits to this study. It attempts not so much to resolve certain issues (such as which socioeconomic and political system will best affect the worker) but rather, to make the reader aware that there are alternatives and that we need empirical evidence with which we can evaluate these options. Part of the expected contribution of this work is to bring together under one study much of the evidence and suggestions that vouch for a more democratic and less alienating work system. In this way, the reader can begin to realize that organizational studies can go much further than diagnosing and documenting efficiency and satisfaction levels.

The area of organizational behavior has at present produced much strong data about satisfaction and some attempts to base this approach on wider and more firm groundwork. In this study, the final goal will be to offer a reformulation of work satisfaction which will bring together some of these enlightening but, until now, unrelated studies. A synthesis of these recent critical perspectives will redefine work satisfaction within the more complex and, hopefully, more correct alienation approach. The remaining chapters show how the study of work alienation as described will broaden our scope, not merely for

the continued inclusion of more variables, but for the basic reorganization and improvement of the quality of our work.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY OF WORK SATISFACTION IN THE UNITED STATES

The criteria thus selected are affected by the analyst's perception of the "system" with which he is concerned. This "system definition" is crucial since it determines, among other things, which elements of the problem are to be considered as decision variables and which are to be taken as fixed, exogenously determined parameters. (Dyer and Hoffenberg, 1975, p. 138)

It was previously mentioned that in the United States and within the study of organizational behavior, work satisfaction, rather than worker alienation is the term commonly used to refer to the area of personal fulfillment with work. In this chapter, we will take a closer look at the contents of studies of work satisfaction to demonstrate some of the limitations to which we alluded when stating that worker alienation implied a more comprehensive perspective.

The work satisfaction studies discussed herein are examples of this area's research and field activities. Criticisms of both endeavors are interlaced throughout the chapter, since their relationship is indivisible: the topics included in work satisfaction conceptualizations will affect not only the development and choice of methodological procedures but also the eventual depth and breadth of interventions and results.

In this second chapter, then, we look at the mainstream approaches to work satisfaction studies, the methodologies used and their effects

on the interpretation of results. This order, which resembles the normal format of empirical studies, is followed by a discussion of the consultant's role in this field. The purposes of this last section are to observe how the consultant makes use of the tools described so far and to prepare the reader for the discussion on work redesign efforts in Chapter III.

It is of interest to keep in mind that a large portion of the criticism reported here originates from within the ranks of work analysts. As Kahn has suggested: "the critics and practitioners of organizational development... are often the same people (and) there is a continuing argument over the state of the art, its proper definition and the requisite skills for practicing it" (1974, p. 486).

Current Mainstream Conceptualizations of Work Satisfaction

In Chapter I we presented a model for the study of alienation which specified four general levels of concern. It was suggested that the study of work satisfaction, which has received so much importance in the last forty years, was not as comprehensive as the alienation approach. One particular issue discussed was the difference in which work alienation and work satisfaction studies had dealt with or had ignored the effect of structural and environmental factors in promoting worker dissatisfaction.

In this section we look at the theoretical background of work satisfaction studies. Our purpose is to evaluate the depth and breadth of these current conceptualizations so that we can later observe how they have affected the applied efforts of the area.

The contributions of psychology to the study of behavior at work have been mainly in the area of job satisfaction (Davis and Cherns, 1975). According to Lawler (1975) although thousands of job satisfaction studies have been carried out, "no well developed theories of satisfaction (as contrasted to motivation) have appeared and little theoretically based research has been done on satisfaction." The four major approaches, he reports, are the fulfillment, discrepancy, equity and two-factor theories.

Fulfillment theory proposes that job satisfaction varies directly with the extent to which those needs of an individual that can be satisfied, are actually satisfied. Researchers who adopt this approach measure satisfaction by asking workers how much of a given facet or aspect of the job they are receiving. These work facets (supervision, pay, relationships, etc.) are weighted to reflect the importance that individuals grant to each aspect of work. However, research in this direction does not take into account the person's expectations or the amount of fulfillment they think should be coming to them.

Discrepancy theory takes into account the factor of a person's

expectations when measuring satisfaction. In general, it maintains that a person will be satisfied to the extent that he/she feels that the outcome of their work matches the outcome they feel is justified for their efforts. According to this theory, both overrewarding and underrewarding are conceived as being the cause of dissatisfaction and the larger the discrepancy, the more dissatisfied the person will be. Three discrepancy approaches have been used, one which looks at what the person wants, a second which compares outcome with expected return and a third which studies what the person feels she should receive.

Equity theory is based on the discrepancy approach. It accepts that satisfaction is a function of the magnitude of the discrepancy between real and expected outcomes but also adds two notions on how this process works. The expected outcomes, according to theory, are determined by comparing one's work and rewards to others doing a similar job. This approach also recognizes that over- and underrewarding causes dissatisfaction, but this is due to different reasons; whereas one brings out feelings of guilt, the other leads to feelings of unfair treatment. In this way, equity theory is clearer than previous ones in stating how a person evaluates his situation as satisfying or dissatisfying.

Herzberg's two-factor theory presents a departure from the fulfillment, discrepancy and equity approaches. It suggests that satisfaction and dissatisfaction belong to two independent continua.

Dissatisfaction is said to be related to the environmental or "hygiene" aspects of the job--the administration, physical conditions, status as well as the degree of interpersonal developments, security and the salary received from the job. Satisfaction, on the other hand, is perceived by Herzberg as generally related to characteristics ("motivators") of the work itself--the availability of recognition, degree of challenge and responsibility, as well as the opportunities available for growth, development and self-direction (Herzberg, 1968).

According to Lawler (1975), discrepancy and equity approaches are the strongest theories among the mentioned four. Fulfillment theory fails to consider that people differ in their desires for facet fulfillment. Two-factor theory, on the other hand, has been studied for nearly thirty years, yet the notion that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are two separate dimensions is still debated. In fact, in their review of the literature on work satisfaction, House and Wigdor (1967) found that a factor can cause both satisfaction and dissatisfaction in the same sample, that a factor can be a satisfier for one person and a dissatisfier for another, and that other demographic and class distinctions of the sample are a better predictor of whether a factor will be a source of satisfaction or dissatisfaction on the job.

The theories reviewed have been criticized in the light of their ideological effects. Weinstein and Weinstein (1974), Braverman (1974) and Davis and Cherns (1975) have noticed that interest in job

satisfaction was never a concern unless it was accompanied by other less worker-oriented and more efficiency related production interests. These authors recognize that since the problem was not identified as the degradation of work, but rather, as people's failure to adjust to the industrial system, the theories of job dissatisfaction were accepting and reenforcing the goals of the organization's owners and managers. This acceptance of the leaders' ideology has shaped the development of the area to the point that only in the later 60's and 70's has there been mention in this literature of battling alienation for reasons other than to reduce absenteeism, turnover, product sabotage, waste and because 'happy workers are productive workers.'[1]

Nord (1974, 1977) has further criticized the job satisfaction paradigm for its failure to recognize the hierarchical and power system in which work in America is rooted as the basis for worker alienation. Work analysts, he claims, have ignored the work of Karl Marx, who searched for many of the humanistic goals that work behavior researchers claim to uphold.[2] For example, Marx also believed that work is a

---

[1]We find evidence in this regard well into the 1970's as well. The Work in America (1973) report states that "we recognize, in the final analysis, that the reluctance of employers to act will never be overcome by arguments based simply on improving the welfare of workers... It is imperative then, that employers be made aware of the fact that efforts to redesign work... have resulted in increases in productivity from 5 to 40 percent..." (p. 112).

[2]Sheppard and Herrick (1972) mention that Marx built a job satisfaction questionnaire which he used in his studies of European factory workers.

central experience in people's lives; that variety and job enrichment would be an improvement to many alienating tasks; that peer supervision (such as that prescribed for organic, as opposed to mechanistic structures) was a more effective and natural mechanism and that, as many organizational psychologists believe, the division of labor was a major cornerstone of worker dissatisfaction. Therefore, Nord states, a Marxist approach would contribute greatly to a better perspective of the organizational developer's role and environment.[3]

The theories of work satisfaction discussed have provided a direction for extensive research and field work. Within its parameters, it has provided much useful information about workers' expressed needs and has highlighted the notion that the organizational variables it studied were highly interrelated. Most of this work, however, was limited to the selection of factors for work satisfaction surveys and

---

[3]The original report of Tannenbaum, et al.'s (1974) international study on job satisfaction also suggest that

> "...the historical dialectic of Marx could well be considered another approach to the study of organizations. Marx was concerned not with organizations in themselves, but with their functions as subsystems of society.... True to its theoretical assumptions, the Marxian method calls for thorough study of historical processes, for constant examination of systematic changes. Marx and Engles were continuously analyzing the failures and successes of the labor and radical movements in various countries to revise and refine their conceptualization of the specific dialectic process. Such a historical approach, in which social, economic and technical changes are the key set of variables in which theory has to be validated and revised against practice, has not been utilized in the study of organizations."

their arrangement within clusters. Few references discussed the completeness of the paradigm. In one example, Daniel Bell wrote, in 1947,

> the mass of (work satisfaction) material which has already accumulated is tremendous. Yet one is struck by the paucity of conclusions. The reasons for this, one feels, is that no one has approached this material armed with basic hypotheses about the nature of our industrial system. Without general hypotheses, these researchers merely psychologize asserting that workers "feel" this or that "management" feels that. There is no view of the larger institutional framework of our economic system within which these relationships arise and have their meaning (p. 86).

Bell's words can be related to our original model for the study of alienation discussed in Section D of Chapter 1. There we recognized four levels of interest necessary for a comprehensive perspective of the variables affecting worker alienation. The study of work satisfaction, as delineated by its theories, focuses on the effect of organizational factors on workers, specifically what we called levels 2 and 3. (See Figure 2)

Organizational Structures and Norms (Level 2)

↓

Worker Expectations, Attitudes, Interpretation of Experience (Level 3)

Figure 2. Levels of interest highlighted in work satisfaction theories

This relationship is a necessary, yet insufficient framework for the understanding and eventual improvement of the quality of workers'

lives. First, it slights the role of the social, economic and political context (Level 1 ⟶ Level 2) in continuing to promote job and structures that are alienating and unsatisfying. Second, it takes the organizational structures and norms as fixed and presents its relationship to workers as a one-way association. In other words, work satisfaction theories studied people's reactions to the organizational factors available, without focusing on how organizations could be in turn changed by the collective expectations of workers. (Level 3 ⟶ Level 2).

Third, as Seashore (1975) points out, these theories accepted that individual interviews presented an accurate view of the presence/absence of satisfaction. The possibilities of unconscious alienation (the difference between Levels 3 and 4) were disregarded, ignoring the issue that certain work aspects are not mentioned as dissatisfiers by workers who have learned to view these factors as fixed and unchangeable. Last, the traditional work satisfaction theories focused on worker adjustment to the organizational environment and, although some organizational reforms were suggested, changes in the larger socio-economic and political ideologies towards work were left unmentioned.

To summarize, we find that a review of the main work satisfaction theories show a limited scope when compared to the different levels of interest taken into account by the selected approaches to work alienation reviewed in Chapter I. In the next sections we look at the

methodology of work satisfaction studies and their interpretation of results. It is expected that the theoretical limitations discussed will have noticeable repercussions on these two aspects of the area.

Methodological Concerns

In Chapter I we reviewed some theories of worker alienation which mentioned that wherever the technology and social system that developed around it emphasized efficiency without regard for human needs, labor alienation was likely to increase. As we shall see in Chapter III even attempts to redesign the technology without some tailoring of the organizational structure to worker needs have likewise proven to increase worker distrust of the managerial and work analysts' intention. In general, these interventions have shown no longitudinal effect on worker alienation (Lytle, 1975). In this section we will review some of the methodologies used for job satisfaction studies and how these reflect the theoretical shortcomings outlined previously. The topics of discussion will include the selection of variables of study, the subjects chosen and the research tools which are used to gather satisfaction data.

The critics who claim that job satisfaction analysts are generally a tool of organizational leaders and that this allegiance obstructs progress towards worker welfare, find ample evidence in the area's selection of variables to be studied. Most interesting, they

claim, is the work analysts' neglect of factors that can be essential in maintaining worker dissatisfaction.

For example, a glance at the work satisfaction literature published between 1976 and 1979 shows some interesting choices.[4] Only a few of these works (approximately eleven entries) mention the term 'alienation' in their title; most still refer to 'work satisfaction' as their subject and the studies' descriptions reveal the limitations of this paradigm. Although there seems to be an increase in the interest concerning work and non-work studies (a recognition of the socio-cultural environment as part of satisfaction studies), there is minimal mention of the effect of the economic and political context and its role in supporting alienating work systems. Worker attitude investigations comprise the bulk of research, while worker ownership, industrial democracy and workers' self-management are not common subjects.

Another uncommon theme is the study of organizational goals and owner motivation. As mentioned previously this may be due in part to the analyst's prejudice regarding which conditions she can change and which are supposedly fixed. Davis and Cherns (1975) propose that when organizational goals and values are taken as "given" variables, the role of the researcher or change agent is limited to altering motivation

---

[4]Observed by reviewing the "Psychological Abstracts" section entitled Organizational Behavior and Job Satisfaction between January 1976 through May 1979.

and behavior by changing people's attitudes. In other words, when problems such as alienation surface, in which the components are the system and the people in it, the tendency will more often involve altering the people instead of attempting to modify the system. This is one likely factor in maintaining the large number of studies on worker attitude development and change.

Touraine (1969) and Means (1970) both comment on the fact that organizational studies always analyze workers, offices, the middle managers, but rarely do they intervene at the top levels. That this has been at times the practitioners' normal strategy was accepted by Whyte when he stated that

> We take into account the higher management influences that play upon the social system we have under observation. But--and this is the key point--we accept those influences as given. We do not seek to explain the motives of higher management... in exercising those influences (Dunlop and Whyte, 1950, p. 400).

This topic touches upon the area's selective use of subjects. Although the literature is full of data on workers' ideas regarding work and other aspects of life (e.g., politics, authoritarianism, society, right of minorities, etc.) it would be difficult to find a study about company owners who have been asked to answer personal questions such as these.[5] In brief, it seems safe to assert that job

---

[5]In relation to this, Nicolaus (1970) comments:
"What if the machinery were reversed? What if the habits, problems, secrets, and unconscious motivations of the wealthy and

satisfaction studies follow a generally fixed procedure: we find a definite audience (top managers and owners) and a captive universe (workers, mid-managers) as the sources for whom and from which these studies develop.

Most importantly, we have yet to see a tendency in job satisfaction studies for workers--the subjects--to take an active part in the designing and implementation of organizational reform (Jenkins, 1974). Although union participation in enlarging workers' rights has long been present, few studies actually involve labor in problem definition, methodology, data collection program or results discussion. The pattern is often repeated: top management ask researchers to intervene, the practitioner collects data from workers, discusses with management the results and possible avenues of solution, and finally presents them a proposed course of action.

Critics of the work satisfaction methodologies have addressed other factors, aside from the selection of variables and subjects. For example, Clark (1972), Kahn (1974) and Bowers (1976) commented on the commercialistic and cold "package deal" approach that change agents at times present to management. The criticisms center on the facts that

---

powerful were daily scrutinized by a thousand systematic researchers, were hourly pried into, analyzed and cross referenced, tabulated and written so that even the fifteen-year-old high school drop-out could understand it and predict the actions of his landlord, manipulate and control him? (p. 1)"

applying methods and programs developed elsewhere generally will have a short-lived (maybe Hawthorne-type) effect on the organization and that some unnecessary or mistaken changes can be brought upon a group of workers.

One example of this has been the area's long, drawn-out debate on the relationship between productivity and satisfaction. This assumed positive relationship was a highly popular expectation for the area and in fact it explained much of the managerial interest in the work satisfaction field. After many years of study, the relationship between productivity and satisfaction remains unsubstantiated at best (Martin, 1969). As mentioned before, these interventions where increased productivity was the goal to be achieved through increased satisfaction are part of the reason why organized labor today rejects work humanization projects as merely other managerial time-and-motion gimmicks (see Chapter III).

The almost universal use of individual questionnaires to tap worker response has also been criticized (Kasl, 1977). Initially, we can say that individual interviewing fails to produce a much needed educative effect on people. Subjects could probably benefit from group interviewing, where one is more likely to find support and clarification of ideas by listening to others respond.[6] Also, Wallach, Kogan and

---

[6]Maccoby's (1975) experiment shows the possibilities of using these techniques in the study of job redesign.

Bem (1962) show that people tend to take more risk in group interviews than when answering individual questionnaires. If the organizational psychologist is truly a "change agent" this may be a more useful and effective tool than the collection of data through individual and precoded questionnaires.

Harrison (1974), Clark (1975) and others have presented some of the criteria to follow when intervening in an organization. However, other criticisms of the area's methods state that reports are difficult to decode, that the language used is not uniform (nor is it clear where one can go for enlightment), that the analysts' ways are dilemmas even to observers, and that few controls and much of the autobiographical writing style makes duplication a complex task at best (Kahn, 1974; Clark, 1972).

To summarize, we have reviewed some of the methods which are used by work analysts to study job satisfaction. It has been suggested that since these methods have focused on the lower levels of the work structure, they fail to provide information regarding aspects of organizational life which may play an important role in perpetuating alienation. In fact, perhaps the information that is collected should not effectively be used to increase work satisfaction as long as the method remains unclear, and the individual subjects do not contribute to the process of problem definition and the search for solutions. The following section will show some of the problems which traditional

satisfaction studies face when discussing experimental proposals and results.

Interpretation of Results and Applied Efforts

The theoretical foundations and the methodological procedures used in any study will unquestionably color the interpretation of the acquired data. At the same time, it can be expected that an incomplete framework and an arbitrary use of subjects will provide information which will make the studies' proposed solutions less effective.

A number of "cures" for worker alienation have been put forth by job satisfaction analysts. Some of the most popular have included job loading, job enlargement, job enrichment, job redesign and the quality of worklife movement. Frederick Herzberg, (whose dual-factor theory of job satisfaction was earlier mentioned) became a strong proponent of the job enrichment program. Criticizing job loading (increasing the number of tasks performed by a worker) as the mere addition of meaningless tasks to an already alienating job, Herzberg recommended a more "motivation-related" approach, whereby the individual worker would be granted additional freedom, authority and information, while increasing the scope and skills to be used on the job (1968).

The results of one of his studies show first, a marked improvement in performance and second, an increase in workers' reported liking of their jobs. The proposed job enrichment program is then

presented to managers in steps. The criticism that this method can be interpreted as manipulative of workers and accommodative to leaders (Ringwald, 1974; Garcia, 1972) is evident in job enrichment step #1:

> Select those jobs in which (a) the investment in industrial engineering does not make chances too costly; (b) attitudes are poor (c) hygiene is becoming very costly and (d) motivation will make a difference in performance (1968, p. 66).

These suggestions imply that the primary purpose of job enrichment was not to increase worker satisfaction, but rather to augment productivity and lessen costs. Udy's claim (1970) that this approach is technologically deterministic also finds fertile ground here. Although the job is to be changed, the alterations are in the content, and not in the machinery or present work structure.

Culbert (1975) and Jenkins (1974) have also commented on job enlargement attempts where the worker is not involved in the process of enriching her job.[7] Since work analysts' sponsors are almost

---

[7]As an example, Herzberg's (1968) step #7 towards a successful enrichment program recommends:

> Avoid direct participation by the employees whose jobs are to be enriched. Ideas they have expressed previously certainly constitute a valuable source for recommended changes, but their direct involvement contaminates the process with human relations hygiene and, more specifically, gives them only a sense of making a contribution. The job is to be changed and it is the content that will produce the motivation, not attitudes about being involved or the challenge inherent in setting up a job. That process will be over shortly, and it is what the employees will be doing from then on that will determine their motivation. A sense of participation will result only in short-term movement.

Herzberg's idea, although presented as a managerial time-saver and

invariably the organizational leaders, there has been little opportunity to experiment with bottom-up change, which Culbert finds more liable to focus on workers' needs.

Finally, Hulin and Blood (1968) present further proof of the futility of enriching jobs (which they consider a middle class solution) without accounting for the socioeconomic framework in which these experiments are developed. Even the 'systems approach' is limited to studying the whole of the organization, never searching for possible causes of alienation in the institutional socioeconomic environment (Litchman and Hunt, 1971).

In brief, we can observe how the results and proposals of satisfaction studies reflect similar ideological characteristics to the theoretical and methodological aspects outlined previously. This ideological stand was usually that of organizational leaders. That the area's practitioners are generally more inclined towards efficiency, rather than worker satisfaction was accepted by Kahn (1974) when he described his work as follows:

> ...a management, typically concerned with the productivity and profitability of its enterprise, with <u>secondary interests in</u>

---

motivational tool is, ironically, also of benefit to the worker. Quasi-participative procedures can actually block view from real workplace injustices, as discussed in Chapter III. At times, it is probably more revealing and catalytic to view one's work as oppressive and in need of reform, than to be appeased by small grants in the decision-making machinery.

> job satisfaction, pays a specialist in organizational development to do certain agreed-upon things in expectation of improved productivity and profit. If these results can be brought about with concomitant gains in satisfaction and worker identification with the task and mission, all the better; hence, the special appeal of approaches that promise some explicit linkage of satisfaction and productivity. Management also assumes in most cases that the process of organizational development will not alter or infringe traditional managerial prerogatives in matters of personnel, resource allocation and the like (p. 499, underlining added).

Further evidence of the focus on productivity while concern with satisfaction remains a secondary goal is observed in Work in America's (1973) final presentation of redesign cases. A close scrutiny of the 34 case studies reported (pp. 188-201) shows that the reported problems that gave rise to the introduction of redesign are rarely worker-oriented: most of the problems state decreased productivity, sabotage, absenteeism, etc. When workers' concerns are addressed, it is in terms of "low morale." There is no mention of improving work life merely for the workers' benefit. Also, the techniques implemented, according to that report, show a significant increase in the amount of tasks to be achieved by individuals; only 3 cases mention the introduction of profit-sharing. Furthermore, eight cases show no "human" results specified; only 2 did not report an increase in "economic" results.

Finally, we had previously mentioned that work satisfaction studies did not highlight the phenomena of people's adaptive potential and avoidance of cognitive dissonance as explanation for results showing high worker satisfaction. Unconscious alienation as a psychological

occurrence is practically an unmentioned topic in the work satisfaction literature. The fact that workers may report high satisfaction to avoid a negative perception of their work life (and their self-image) has been suggested (Ramirez, 1976; Taylor, 1977) yet no theoretical reformulation has been offered to account for these results. In closing, job satisfaction proposals and results that focus on performance improvement rather than decreasing alienation, that offer no opportunity for worker participation in job restructuring, and where the aim is to motivate the individual to adjust to her general situation will eventually show only short-lived solutions to the widespread problem of work alienation (Nord, 1974; Lindenfeld, 1973).

In recent years, proposals to improve work have at times taken these considerations into account. Specifically the movement towards workers' self-management in Europe and the effort to improve the quality of work life in the U.S. present alternatives where worker participation and the possibility of building organizations around people--instead of vice-versa--have been explored. Before discussing these trends in Chapter III, we will review the role of the organizational consultant in dealing with the theoretical, methodological and interpretation shortcomings outlined in this chapter.

The Role of the Organizational Consultant

Up to now we have been referring to the area of organizational

behavior in general and its concern with work satisfaction. To understand its direction, we should also look at the specific situation of its professionals, those who develop it and practice within this field. In this section we look at the organizational consultant's environment, the roots of his work and the roles they play to remain afloat in a highly competitive field of work. A historical and broad perspective concerning the consultants' work will show that their situation has socioeconomic attachments that have shaped its development along specific lines. These characteristics--such as the extensive managerial support they receive and their work's dependence on public acceptance--could begin to explain some of the limitations referred to previously, especially those which concerned the limited scope of work satisfaction theories.

First, we can look at the area's development and growth. Daniel Bell (1960) stated that modern industry began not with the factory, but with the measurement of work. The interest in these measures arose concomitantly with the increased division of labor and the industrial revolution. By bringing together the already developing tendencies to rigidly structure work, F.W. Taylor became a pioneer of organizational research in the late 19th century. Modern management arose from Taylor's principles, which were directed at organizing work in such a way that designing the labor process became the exclusive prerogative of management, while actual production was dissected at the workers'

levels (Braverman, 1974).

Less than three decades later, Taylor's "scientific management" movement gave way to Elton Mayo's "human relations" approach to work. Recognizing the importance of social variables in the analysis of working environments, the human relations movement actually cheered the ascendancy of what Mills (1970) called the "cheerful robot." Apparently, workers should be allowed to "blow off steam" by participating in discussions of organizational issues but no provisions were made for them to change the hierarchical frameworks of organizations. This model actually emphasized (always to managers) the importance of knowing workers better, but its effects could be considered manipulative in that it offered no alternative to the power stratifications. In relation to this, Best and Connolly (1976) go as far as asserting that there is no inherent difference between Human Relations and the alienating mechanisms of the scientific management movement.

The recognition of social and psychological aspects of work behavior gave organizational research a widened perspective regarding the dynamics of people at work. Job analysts correctly identified ways to profitably increase production by improving the working environment and the professionalization of organizational consultants advanced rapidly. Although highly fragmented under various names, the study of work was organized. Gibb (1959) suggests that

When this (consulting) process becomes professionalized certain

'scientific objectivity' aura which attracts a clientele (Mayo, 1977; Bell, 1960). Under this expected detachment, a sponsor can, for example, justify reforms to increase productivity under the guise of the consultant's suggestions to humanize work. This difference in the perceived purpose of organizational reform could lead to a clash of values between the sponsor and the consultant.

However, the practitioners' background is highly similar to that of organizational leaders regarding age, education, income, status, etc. The usual consequence of this similarity in background, claims Etzioni (1969), is that, in the end, the consultant does little that can ultimately harm his relations with present or future sponsors. There are, in fact, remarkably few instances in the literature (Benne, 1959; Schein, 1977; Reddin, 1977) that even point to a possible clash of values between organizational leaders and consultants.

Yet, Bowen (1977) reports that a study revealed that organizational development agents do have the highest value-action incongruence when compared to three other types of change agents. According to that author, organizational agents experience dissonance because, while they espouse democratic and participative values, in practice they find themselves primarily concerned with helping to increase productivity and solving managerial problems. Clark (1975) describes the practitioner as one whose approaches to work reflect political views and as systems which

> new dimensions and complications enter the picture. A body of literature arises, dominant ethical issues come into focus, areas of competence and prerogative become differentiated, standards of performance become formalized, social psychological theory gets stretched, new research programs are launched, new courses and new professional curricula are instituted, budgets and organizational charts are modified, comfortable organizational boundaries and formats are permeated and people begin to talk of new professional organizations and problems of certification and social control (p. 1).

As with many other applied science fields, the development of the area is highly affected by its welcome and acceptance by the public. Blackler and Brown (1975) suggest that there are five stages to organizational research. Initially, a concept is born in scientific circles. Then firms and consultants adopt the idea, modifying it somewhat. The notion is then "dressed up" and presented with other fashionable terms to attract the managerial mind. Fourth, a battle of semantics usually follows, where academics discuss the merits and limits of the notion. Finally, everyone tires of the debate and the concept is relegated into relative obscurity in favor of a new one.

This dynamic environment can be both healthy and unstable to consultants. It has been criticized because changes in the area usually do not vouch for fundamental organizational reform. It has also been suggested that change agents are trained to maintain the hierarchical status quo (Ringwald, 1974; Crowfoot and Chesler, 1974), while maintaining an apparently radical perspective.

The practitioner's training somehow grants her profession a

> ...go through waves of high elation when they are receiving plenty of approaches from prospective clients, to troughs of deep depression as the sources seem to dry up. This holds most forceably when the practitioner is completely dependent on this source of income. It puts him into a state of desperation, so that he will take on jobs in which he has no special competence or agree to unworkable relationships (p. 165).

The role of the consultant, then is an uneasy one. Traditionally trained under business emphases, consultants are soon faced with adjusting to the economic reality of limiting their work to organizational concerns, since working primarily for workers' welfare offers little career incentives. Unfortunately, these value conflicts, comments Bowen (1977), could be at least as important as research difficulties in limiting the area's theoretical and practical development.

Summary and Conclusions

In elucidating the practitioner's role in the development of the organizational behavior area, we began by noting how modern management, with the help of work analysts, continually expanded its views on which aspects of work and which characteristics of workers were to be included in the study of organizations. Since the sponsors of these works were corporate leaders, the literature generally avoided these persons' role, as well as the organizational values and moralities set by them in developing work structures.

Practitioners are then criticized as being biased towards managerial interests. This specifically became apparent in the study of

job satisfaction, where increased productivity accompanied (and justified) every attempt to reduce worker alienation. Criticism regarding this bias was commonly not on the basis of its lack of objectivity as much as on the fact that:

> Corporate managers have neither the hope or the expectation of altering this situation by a single stroke; rather, they are concerned to ameliorate it only when it interferes with the orderly functioning of their plants, offices, warehouses and stores. For corporate management, this is a problem in costs and controls, not in the "humanization of work." It compels their attention because it manifests itself in absentee, turnover, and productivity levels that do not conform to their calculations and expectations. The solutions they will accept are only those which provide improvements in their labor costs and in their competitive positions domestically and in the world market (Braverman, 1974).

Evidence of similar interests were discussed as they appeared in theories which presented an elemental view of factors constituting job satisfaction; in methodologies reaffirming the use of individual workers as subjects but not as participants in the improvement of the quality of their work life; in searching first for productivity-oriented results and in promoting organizational change programs that vouch for worker adjustment and maintenance of the existing technical and power work structure.

The information presented in this chapter seems to validate our initial concerns with the study of work satisfaction. Comparing this field's perspective with our alienating model shows that, indeed, the widest level of interest--the socioeconomic and political environment--

has not been part of the variables of study for work satisfaction analysis. Yet the area is particularly linked to this larger system. This transactional relationship is observed in the area's dependence on its audience and on its support of the organizational and social systems it promotes as most humane or efficient.

A second purpose of this chapter has been to prepare the reader to recognize these characteristics of early job satisfaction studies. Modern attempts to fight work alienation in the U.S. have developed from these traditions. As previously discussed, the line between research and action in this field is a very thin one indeed. In Chapter III we will try to determine if the research limitations presented already constrain present applied efforts to analyze work satisfaction and to gauge the progress of the area in this endeavor.

CHAPTER III

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN WORK REDESIGN

> *When discussing workers' control, the issue is not merely economic reform, but laying the basis for more fulfilling personality development and changed social relations. If these goals seem utopian, it is only a reflection of the prevailing system's emphasis on ...quantitative growth without structural change (Hampden-Turner, 1973, p. 30).*

In Chapter II we analyzed some of the components of American attempts to study and reduce work alienation. Research on job satisfaction follows what can be identified as a traditional or customary approach to work and its possible redesign. This tradition formally began with scientific management and progressed to develop into various disciplines with specialists trained in assessing human and economic needs for reform.

The framework for these inquiries followed certain prescribed directions. For example, theories of satisfaction downplayed the role of technology and hierarchy in maintaining alienation. The methodology stressed non-participatory researches in which a number of variables and subjects were routinely tested under slightly varying conditions. As a result, work was barely redesigned at the end of these experiments. Alienation meanwhile increased.

At present, work in America is changing and the customary ways to

study job satisfaction are giving way to new approaches that have originated elsewhere. Many of these innovations originated in European countries where a long tradition of industrial democracy has led them to current working arrangements that differ drastically from the contemporary structures of work in the United States.

In this chapter, we will take a look at some of these alternative approaches and at their implications for reducing work alienation. Specifically, we review other countries' experiments with workplace democracy and the role that workers, unions, managements and governments have played in its dissemination. One purpose is to contrast their framework for battling alienation with the job satisfaction literature reviewed previously and with present American developments in work redesign.

There is one important drawback in making this type of comparison. While we can recognize technical and managerial similarities among most industrial organizations, work satisfaction data are more difficult to contrast. Few countries have developed the wealth of information that the job satisfaction surveys provide for the United States workers. Yet, following the selected literature review presented in Chapter I, we recognize that organizational structure and hierarchy are key elements in the production of alienation. By studying these variables in foreign settings we will approximate a better understanding of how other countries deal with worker complaints of estrangement

and powerlessness from their jobs.

The presentation of alternative models in this chapter then will hopefully achieve more than informing the reader about organizational designs that allow for changes to the very basic fundaments of work structures--something not often found in American organizational behavior literature. We expect that contrasting these ideas to the American tradition of work could highlight similarities, differences and perhaps point towards more resourceful solutions to the problems of work alienation.

Industrial Democracy in Foreign Settings

Although one industry's solution to worker alienation may hardly be applicable for another, it seems wise to continuously inquire of others' efforts in order to learn and perhaps adjust them to the reality at hand. The trend towards ensuring workplace democracy in Europe represents an old expectation of many workers, and a reality for numerous others. The methods for reaching this goal take as many forms as the countries which have attempted it with varying degrees of success.

There is a wide gamut of working arrangements which different authors recognize as the democratic way to relieve alienation. Some recognize isolated job redesign techniques--such as Flexitime--as great leaps forward towards worker contentment. Others vouch for participative

or joint management as the rational solution to authoritarian practices. Still others refuse to consider it industrial democracy until workers' control has been fully established. Finally, the self-management proponents go furthest in their expectations of social change towards workplace democracy.

Whatever their preference, however, most agree that promoting any form of workplace reform almost invariably involves the taking of a political standpoint. Indeed, one of the most often mentioned arguments in the European literature is whether these structural arrangements should or even can co-exist with a capitalist economic system. Jenkins (1975), however, finds no relation between allegiance to socialism and espousing industrial democracy and, Mills (1977) states that, in fact, many of its proponents are anti-Communists.[1] But although some see democracy at work as an effective way to save the existing system, many others perceive it as a way to destroy it (Mire, 1975) and there is opposition from conservatives. There is also strong opposition to workplace reform from leftist advocates who claim that these measures only acclimate workers to capitalist ways and support the status quo (Zukin, 1978). Whatever the country's preference, it is true that all European nations have some sort of legislation to promote

---

[1]This has been found to be the case in instances of worker takeovers where help from leftist factions has been unenthusiastically received by workers (Herman, 1974; Carnoy and Levin, 1976).

industrial democracy and that it is an integral part of the political platforms of European socialists, capitalists and social democrats (Blumberg, 1973).

The literature on European and other foreign experiments on work redesign currently does not follow a consistent pattern in categorizing different organizational structure experiences. What some authors call industrial democracy is recognized by others as the earliest of steps towards that final goal. I have chosen to separate those experiences by making specific use of three terms generally found interchangeably in this literature: workers' participation, workers' control and workers' self-management.

In this chapter then we will look at different organizational experiences in foreign settings and try to differentiate among them by placing them under one of these three categories. It is important to remember that within each country we can probably find examples of one or two of these classifications and that these experiments, although different from each other, represent a unified movement or direction in the European work experience.

The definitions used in relation to the three models of work, then, are this author's personal interpretation. I believe that key elements among these trends--such as the amount of worker control, their degree of consciousness and who initiates the work reforms--are better highlighted in this way. Perhaps their differences in advocating

for workplace reform can be best understood when we define and cite some examples of the varying degree of powers recognized by each of the participation, workers' control and self-management proponents.

Workers' participation is found in capitalist firms where workers share partial responsibility over certain issues, and where management retains authority over fundamental production decisions (Case, 1973). It is usually implemented from above and by its unchallenging nature, appeals to moderates and to firm believers of hierarchical systems. A prime example of worker participation is Germany's system of co-determination.

German workers have asked for changes in decision-making procedures since the 1800's, yet the implementation of worker representation in supervisory boards was not established until after World War II. By then it was introduced by the British, and its main purpose was to insert union leaders into pro-Hitler bastions and avoid the resurgence of Nazism among powerful company owners and managers (Jenkins, 1975). In brief, co-determination means that workers hold one-third of the seats at Boards of Supervision, except in the coal and steel industries, where they hold one-half of the seats. Work councils throughout the industries discuss work-related matters but particularly important decisions are still the prerogative of management. The West German Trade Union Federation explains that

It is by no means the intention of co-determination to destroy

> the authority of management. Nor is it intended that the workers... should take over management. It is rather the intention that management should be placed institutionally under an obligation to exercise its authority in the sense of a trusteeship, not to abuse its authority and to act at all times responsibly (1973, p. 198).

Although this system is defended on the grounds that these joint labor-management efforts are an improvement over traditional workplace authoritarianism, other opinions point to the diluted democracy of a system where the workers are a voting minority. Schauer (1973) claims that co-determination merely protects managerial authority, while giving an illusion of popular control. He states, contrary to Jenkins (1975), that workers hold few controls, and have only limited access to information needed for decision-making. Mandel (1973) has further concluded that co-determination in Germany has proven to be an effective way of sapping the strength of unions and of worker militancy.

Although Germany's labor organizations are considered moderately conservative by some, they have traditionally called for increased participation and currently demand a place in national planning policies. Heisler (1977) identifies the 1973 German Works Metal Union as the first strikers to ever call a stoppage and sign a contract based exclusively on work humanization issues, a feat far from the reality of, for example, American labor unions.

Other countries like Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, and Japan have also begun experiments which increase the quality of

work life by allowing more worker participation in the industrial system (Mire, 1975; Takezawa, 1975; Jenkins, 1974). These countries' reforms of the workplace are similar in that they have all been implemented by top members of the organizations. This has also been the rule in Norway and Sweden, where much of the industrial democracy movement was first researched.

Norway's Einar Thorsrud used research from London's Tavistock Institute for Human Relations to experiment with work redesign in his own country. Norway thus became one of the first nations to implement job redesign and to heed workers' suggestions. Jenkins (1975) states that Norway's intentions were political from the start, and that industrial democracy there has a long tradition among labor.

Unfortunately, Jenkins continues, Norwegian psychologists and consultants did not actively publicize their results. Experiments were kept private, much like it has been the norm in American industrial experiments (Zimbalist, 1975). As a result, Norway's initial commitment to this movement has dragged and, at present, few industries in that country have workplace reforms developing and popular interest in the subject has dwindled.

In contrast, Sweden's unions, consultants and government have set out to popularize the idea of industrial democracy. According to Hansson (1978), Sweden waited until Norway solved the initial problems faced in democratizing work, and then they began their own experiments.

It seems that Swedish workers didn't particularly care for measures that reduced alienation until the late 1960's when their material well-being reached a highly satisfying level. Although labor unrest is virtually unknown in Sweden, private and public companies initiated reforms to upgrade the quality of work life, probably because of the accompanying increases in production (List, 1973; Gardell, 1975). Agervald (1975) and Hammarstrom (1975) report on the major work redesign efforts in SAAB-SCANIA and the LKAB mines as examples of experiments which were highly lauded yet did not bring about successful changes in the workers' feelings of autonomy. Again, a major drawback was identified as the implementation of change from above, while "bottom-up" change may have proven to be more to the workers' advantage.

The Swedish experience shows that government, unions and industries can unite to plan for a better quality of work life although this experience does not in itself guarantee effective results. Yet, some of the authors cited above claim that research in this area advances even when it translates into slight losses in productivity, because most Swedish, in general, view industrial participation as a right of every worker (Gardell, 1975; Hansson, 1978). One unresolved problem, as the examples such as the SAAB-SCANIA and LKAB show, is that many of the reforms can be revoked by management at any time and that although work redesign has been extensive, the Scandinavian systems are not recognized as granting the workers effective control.

Workers' control takes us a step further than participation and joint labor-management committees. Hunnius, Garson and Case (1973) describe workers' control as the blue- and white-collar workers' responsibility for running the enterprises' operations. Mandel (1973) defines it as an anti-capitalist reform that arises out of workers' demands and not from the managers' willingness to share their authority. Gorz states that

> workers' control is the capability of the workers to take control of the process of production and to organize the working process as they think best... in such a way as to stop it from being oppressive, mutilating, soul-destroying and health-destroying; to allow for the maximum display of each worker's initiative, responsibility and creativity... (p. 339, 1978).

A number of workers' takeovers in France, England, and the Chilean and Israeli experiences offer some examples of this. Although the definitions above emphasize the anti-capitalist nature of workers' control, takeovers show that workers are usually propelled to it because they fear job losses and not as a matter of political conviction.[2] The Lip case in Besancon, France, is a case in point.

Herman (1974) narrates that the Lip watch factory workers took over complete management of the firm when it was at the point of being closed. The Confédération Générale du Travail and Confédération Francaise Démocratique du Travail differ in their standpoint towards

---

[2]This can reflect a political conservatism on the part of the workers or an arrangement of priorities which, like Maslow theorized, recognizes an economic need as primary because it has not been satisfied.

workers' control within capitalism, yet both unions supported the Lip workers. Public support was also important and the factory continued to work at a profit. Government reaction was one of uneasiness, since the Lip case brought about a wave of occupations in other factories throughout the country. The reforms introduced at Lip by the workers were, in general, to show that they could manage themselves. It was not an attempt to "change the system" and therefore, gradations in pay and a hierarchical structure were maintained.

In 1975 English workers bought the British Triumph Bonneville motorcycle plant in Meriden, also due to fear of a close-down. Although these workers did not see themselves as promulgating a change in socioeconomic or political structures, their reforms involved radical changes in the traditional working arrangements. Egalitarian pay was established, managers and supervisors were elected and financial decisions were approved by an assembly in which workers held a majority of seats (Carnoy and Levin, 1976).

Israel's Kibbutz represents another instance of workers' control. Based on principles of egalitarianism, voluntarism and cooperativism, it stands out successfully beside Israel's Histadrut's attempts to decrease alienation via joint labor-management experiments (Hunnius, Garson and Case, 1973; Fine, 1973). The Kibbutz experience shows that direct involvement (not worker representation) is a more effective way to maintain interest in group affairs. A general assembly decides

most of the Kibbutz problems and this applies both to agricultural and industrial organizations. Of particular importance seems to be the size of the Kibbutz (smaller ones being more effective in keeping high participation levels) as well as the amount of ideological and social support granted to the collective.

The results of a survey of Chilean workers between 1970-1973 also showed that direct worker involvement increased self-perception of worth (Espinosa and Zimbalist, 1978). The widespread program of workers' control in Chile during those years added some notions to the mounting positive evidence about workers' ability to control their working environment. Aside from showing the importance of "bottom-up" change, these enterprises performed better than the previous strictly hierarchical structures. Most importantly, they exemplified the importance of trusting workers' capacity to manage, if the training and trust were available. At present, a few worker-owned companies remain in Chile (Stokes, 1978). Bought by workers to avoid shutdowns, they have no shop-floor democracy as before, but the financial statements are available for all to review and discipline is a group affair.

In brief, we can say that workers' control is something between participation and self-management, a rehearsal in autonomy over managing the working environment. It is a strategy which introduces popular control (Case, 1973) but which seems to be observed in isolated instances, rather than as a national movement or reform. Workers' control

is more controversial, therefore less popular, than workers' participation in political platforms, unions or even workers throughout Europe (Delamotte, 1975; Jenkins, 1975).

It is not surprising, then, that the 1977 Paris conference on self-management held lengthy discussion on why workers are not directly inclined towards workers' control (Zukin, 1978). In fact, they stated, self-management and the ideas to change the existing authoritarian work order seem to appeal most to intellectuals than to workers. When workers do ask for it, it is due to personal interest, e.g. to avoid closing the organization. Whatever its standing in the public's opinion, self-management has been lauded as the ultimate step in worker government and as the ideal union of physical and thinking labor, the separation of which is one explanation of alienated work.

Self-management, then, is commonly associated with socialized or leftist environments, whereas workers' control seems more of a liberal's proposal for action. Case (1973) defines self-management as a situation where work has been socialized, and as a means of extending democracy to where the person spends most of her waking hours. In a self-managed enterprise, workers' collectively determine what they produce, how they produce it and how to distribute the income they earn. Although the organization is not legally owned by workers (Dahl, 1970) a self-managed firm is presented as an almost scientifically created structure, a highly planned construction of egalitarian principles and

safety measures usually following a national plan of workplace reform, unlike the more individual instance of workers' control. It is not the USSR's system where party control over union and work councils dominates, nor is it China's program of worker participation (Korbash, 1974; Rosenfeld, 1973; Espinosa and Zimbalist, 1978). It has been implemented in Algeria, Peru, and in its most notable location, Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia, self-management was implemented by national dictum and some observers claim that its main purpose was to reduce communist party interference in the country's economy (Mire, 1975). As it turned out, the system allows for extensive industrial democracy, and even if the work councils are not completely autonomous, they offer a permanent and strong outlet to what could be considered as an otherwise rigid sociopolitical structure (Dahl, 1970; Blumberg, 1973). Briefly, the system of self-management works as follows.

There is no private ownership in the country, although enterprises operate as businesses, competing with each other for resources and personnel. The workers' collective (all of the workers) elects those who will serve in the workers' councils. These council members (usually numbering between 20 to 22, depending on the organization's size) are elected only for two years, cannot be fired or transferred during office and are not paid extra for their service as council members. The workers' council approves decisions on hiring, firing, research,

production, investments, profits allocation, discipline, can recall members of the management board and weighs most heavily in decisions to remove the firm's director.

The workers' council also elects the management board which operates the day-by-day plant operation. This board, (5 to 11 members plus a director) is usually composed of workers directly engaged in production who are not paid for their service on the board. Their task is to execute general policy as dictated by the workers' council's decisions. Finally, the firm's director carries out plans, signs contracts, places sues and represents the organization in ventures determined by the previous two bodies. Their power is limited, but directors can postpone decisions and call in a state investigation into matters in which they disagree with the council's determination (Blumberg, 1973; Tornquist, 1975; Mire, 1975).

Yugoslavian and foreign observers agree that self-management is not the perfect answer to worker alienation. Many traditional biases keep highly skilled males as the typical majority in self-management. Party members are a minority in the councils, but are overrepresented in relation to their proportions in the workforce. Strikes are not legal, yet many work stoppages are registered against the management boards. In short, in some organizations it works smoothly, but not in others. As Tornquist (1975) and Blumberg (1973) have suggested, a major variable is the collectives' level of consciousness and willingness

to assert their powers.

Unions in Yugoslavian self-management usually take traditional management standpoints. Their power is limited by the council, which allocates the funds for union affairs. Hunnius (1973) claims that unions resent that self-management almost destroyed their power in Yugoslavia overnight. He states that when unions participate in the decision to implement and in the development of self-management, its jurisdiction need not be so suddenly curtailed and that unions can still carry out essential roles in the firm.[3]

The European alternatives to work structures are so varied that it is not simple to gather common lessons from their experience. We can, however, recognize certain key variables. For example, much importance is granted to the way that reforms are introduced. Establishing work redesigns will elicit different responses from the public, workers, unions and managers, depending on which group asked for it and in the way in which it is implemented. This is of course related to

---

[3]In general, union response to these changes in the European workplace--be it quality of work life or workers' control--has been one of uneasiness or open opposition. They fear that increased worker participation steps into traditional union territory, that quality of work life improvements gets rid of alienating, yet economically necessary jobs for workers, and, mainly, that these reforms are efforts to increase production offered under a facade of false benefits (Zukin, 1978; Jenkins, 1975; Herman, 1974). For example, Italy's unions have opted for backing work redesign efforts only when workers initiate them and Belgium's unions currently agree to reforms only if the union is recognized as the official mediators in their implementation (Delamotte, 1975; Mire, 1975).

the level of workers' training and their capability to manage successfully. It is also related to their level of consciousness in demanding more authority to make their working environment less alienating and more responsive to their needs.

Finally, we can observe from the results that these experiments have been profitable financially as well as in bringing a more democratic environment to the workplace. Although, as mentioned previously, I rarely found mention of "job satisfaction" measures in the European context, Paul Blumberg (1973) in his review of those studies comments that

> there is hardly a study in the entire literature which fails to demonstrate that satisfaction with work is enhanced or that other generally acknowledged beneficial consequences accrue from a genuine increase in workers' decision making power. Such consistency of findings, I submit, is rare in social research (p. 123).

Productivity increases are evidenced by owners' interest in experimenting with these alternative structures and by workers' decision to take control and turn a profit from a dying organization (List, 1973; Gardell, 1975; Harman, 1974; Carnoy and Levin, 1974; Hunnius, Garson and Case, 1973; Heisler and Houck, 1977).

By now it seems clear that in Europe reducing work alienation is primarily associated with some form of alternative worker participation procedure. Although other material and environmental alterations are still part of their demands, the worker expects a less authoritarian

ambiance and it has been shown that this expectation increases with each greater share of control (Jenkins, 1975).

In relation to their approach to the study of alienation, we can summarize that the foreign paradigms of work satisfaction involve more than the workers' fulfillment of certain specific elements (as we saw under the American theories of job satisfaction). Their perspective on what makes a satisfying working environment emphasizes the role of power structures, class conflicts and the resulting working technologies as questionable and modifiable aspects of attempts to reduce alienation. The social, political and economic context are not only considered important variables, they comprise the variables of study and change in most of their literature on organizational behavior.

The role of the social scientists is also scrutinized. We mentioned how in Scandinavia, these experts' functions were recognized as crucial in the public's reaction to work redesign. Hammarstrom (1975) parallels the consultant's role to that of organizational ombudspersons who eventually must make an ideological choice between the parties at hand. The economic and political implications of the organizational behaviorist are not downplayed but emphasized when Gardell comments:

> The duty of social scientists interested in quality of work life is much broader than serving economic interests; this means that there must be an open debate about compromises that will be required between economic and social goals and that social scientists must be prepared to share their

> research and experience in open discussion among different interest groups and power centers in order to contribute to the changes in idea and values which are necessary prerequisites for important and lasting improvements... (1975, p. 325).

Methods are slightly different, with more emphasis on group interviews and an ease in studying the characteristics and motivations of organizational members, regardless of hierarchical ranking. There is also more open discussion on the willingness or unwillingness to compromise economic goals to the rights of workers as persons. All of this, of course, results in propositions and experiments that depart from the American customary way of studying alienation.

It is not surprising, then, that the European experience has produced alternative work structures like the ones discussed already in this chapter. Approaching the study of work from these perspectives and with these methods is more likely to result in, for example, workers' control experiments than if we focus on the workers' inability to adjust as the root of alienation, such as American studies have generally done (Ryan, 1971).

But we have yet to review the more recent American studies of work and their proposals. In the next section we will take a look at the United States' current efforts to increase work satisfaction and a "state of the art" view of job redesign. As stated initially, a comparison of work structures can provide some clues regarding why the field has decided to follow on a certain direction and perhaps

demonstrate an alternative method or approach. In the next section we look at job redesign in the United States and analyze its present state in light of what we observed in the foreign settings.

Job Redesign in the United States

Reviews of American attempts to redesign work often start out by stating that there is no tradition of workplace democracy, that Americans are totally indifferent to the European work reform movement and that the workplace is and always will be the most conservative institution in the United States (Zwerdling, 1974; Mills, 1977; Yankelovich, 1978; Hunnius, Garson and Case, 1973). Indeed, there is no noticeable interest in a structure of work like the self-management example, but there are instances of experiences that can be related to Europe's workers' control and worker participation. The contemporary setting of work redesign efforts in this country is dotted with a number of experiments and other efforts which can provide us with a better idea of how industrial democracy fares with Americans. We will review some of these attempts, starting with the plywood industry's examples of workers' control.

One eighth of the plywood industry in the United States is worker-owned. They are located mainly in the Northwestern region of the country and range in size from 80 to 450 "worker-owners" (Bernstein, 1974). The worker's collective elects a board of directors and a

general manager which run the day-to-day operations, according to a predetermined course of action. Financial reports are distributed to all workers, who, as shareholders, need to be thoroughly informed before proposing changes. Workers claim to be more enthusiastic since controlling their work lives and productivity is usually higher than in traditional plywood firms. Pay schedules have been equalized throughout all levels of these organizations and the average take-home pay is higher than for workers in traditional plywood firms. Other benefits include no compulsory retirement, free lunches, full medical and dental care for workers and their families and life insurance.

However, no new worker-owned plywood firms have been established since 1955. These companies were begun in the Depression, when workers had no alternative to finding jobs and would agree to invest and receive little for the initial 2 to 4 years. Also, plywood was a new industry then and their success was rapid. At present, some worker-owned firms are sold to conglomerates, since this provides extra income for shareholders and workers are not primarily interested in preserving a "show case of self-management." The workers' reluctance to invest in enlarging their businesses has been another obstacle in furthering the growth of these worker owned firms. In fact, Zwerdling (1974) claims, the worker-owned plywood firms are isolated exceptions, which are on the wane and which add little to the notion of workplace democracy in this country.

Instances of other worker-initiated reforms are few in the American context. Blumberg (1973) reports on two cases where workers redesigned their jobs. Zwerdling (1974) brings out the experience of a number of farm cooperatives which resemble workers' control, and certain youth-oriented organizations (particularly within universities) are experimenting with community-managed administration (Jaffe, 1971). But these cases are few and isolated and do not constitute a recognizable trend in the improvement of workplace democracy.

Other examples that involve worker ownership of the organization cannot be recognized as workers' control. I believe that if owning the industry is not accompanied by decision-making power, there can be no real control. This has been the case with the recent Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOP).

In these programs, according to Michigan's Institute for Social Research (1978), employees at all levels own either a small percentage or all of the company's equity. Managers in the 472 firms surveyed gave various reasons for adoption of an employee ownership plan. Most of them reported that the financial benefits it brought to the company, coupled with increases in employee motivation, were of highest priority. ESOP was also established to avoid shutdowns or rising unemployment.[4]

---

[4]Reasons related to unemployment were more frequent where workers owned shares in the company directly than when they own shares through a trust.

A minority gave moral reasons (e.g., that worker should partly own their company). In the report, Conti and Tannenbaum summarize that

> analyses concerning the possible determinants of profitability (in thirty of these companies where data about profit are available) indicate that the single most important correlate of profitability among the aspects of ownership that we measured is the percent of the company's equity owned by nonmanagerial employees. The greater this percent, the greater the profitability of the firm.

Voting and decision-making rights was strongly associated with whether workers owned stock directly or through an Employee Stock Ownership Trust (ESOT). While ESOT programs involve the workers in capital gains and losses, their ownership right generally does not include the right to vote their stock. Although direct ownership does allow for more control, worker ownership in America generally grants the worker no more power than they had before their economic involvement (Zwerdling, 1979).[5]

There has been some government involvement in these programs. A 1979 Senate bill proclaims that Federal aid will be available for employee ownership of organizations (Small Business Employee Ownership Act, 1979). A Senate committee created to report on the state of these programs supports them by reporting that profits and satisfaction are increased and that since wealth distribution is more equitable in these

---

[5]Zwerdling also reports, however, that workers that acquire ownership rights come to expect more democracy at work. Jenkins (1974, 1975) has also observed this development among European workers.

systems, it would be an effective way in which the United States can "spread the benefits of capitalism" and increase productivity (Select Committee on Small Business, 1979).

In brief, only a few of the American worker owned firms can be recognized as cases of worker control, as we defined this originally. That is, only the plywood industries' experiments and a few others were examples of worker initiated ownership, accompanied by significant--if not complete--power to decide or participate in the decision-making process. Other forms of worker ownership without control can best be described as an economic form of workers' participation.

We originally had defined workers' participation as programs initiated by top organizational echelons, where the structure of work and planning remained stratified and divided. Aside from workers economic participation through ESOP, other American programs in the United States encourage limited participation of workers in organizational decisions.

One of these is the Scanlon Plan. This program espouses a philosophy of management and labor cooperation in issues regarding cost effectiveness and production. Scanlon plans generally involve the creation of production committees to review cost-cutting suggestions and screening committees, which oversee the implementation of the accepted suggestions. One important aspect of Scanlon plans was the distribution of bonuses to workers when production increased above a pre-determined base figure.

These programs are usually installed in organizations with "healthy" climates interested in increasing their productivity. The National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life (1975) made a review of the Scanlon literature and found that most studies show that successful programs incorporated the bonus to share profits together with worker-management suggestions to up efficiency. Of 44 case studies analyzed, 30 were successful and 14 were failures but the evaluation of Scanlon programs was complicated by uneven methodologies. Sociopsychological outcomes were available for only a few of the studies, suggesting that indeed, Scanlon programs were implemented to improve production and that changes in worker satisfaction were by-products of this economic innovation. It was more equitable than previous programs where workers were asked to participate in that some Scanlon organizations distributed bonuses--though some did not--to workers when profits accrued from increased production.

However, few industries have a Scanlon program at present and its effect has rarely been tested in service or other organizations aside from manufacturing industries. The report cites managerial predisposition against participative systems, and union suspicion as two important blocks to the successful implementation and development of Scanlon plans. Also, where workers are not part of the development of the program and do not fully understand the way bonuses will be calculated, cooperation and interest generally lag. In short economic

participation and encouraging worker input has been reported to be effective in augmenting production but its sociopsychological effects are still not clear. In relation to altering the work structure, no significant improvements are observed from the Scanlon plan.

Another worker participation system is the labor-management committee. These union and management alliances began in the 1920's and became popular in the United States during World War II, when both groups united in efforts to increase production of war goods (Batt and Weinberg, 1978). A number of giant corporations (such as Rockwell, A & P, Safeway, Giant, US Steel, Chrysler) currently have these committees, and their functions include improving productivity, labor relations, designing plant layouts, selecting supervisor and planning for development of gains-sharing programs.

Recounting the history of these committees, Douty (1978) defines them as formal, negotiated arrangements, by which labor and management join efforts to improve the quality and quantity of production. They are advisory, rather than decision-making bodies. In brief, their goal is to improve production and has little to do with making the worker less alienated, except that their participation, it is suggested, may positively affect their motivation toward work.

Many of the workplace redesign cases in the United States involve the development of mechanisms to increase worker participation. There are many of these individual case studies in which changes have been

developed specifically for the organization at hand, and which follow no generalized guideline. Zimbalist (1975) states that at least 2,000 American firms are currently experimenting with work redesign. The "Work in America" report (1973) presents many of these case studies and their results, but much like labor-management group and Scanlon plan reports, emphasis is on economic gains and not on reducing the incidence of worker alienation.[6]

Various reasons account for the slow growth of work structure reform in the United States. Espinosa and Zimbalist (1975) suggest that many of the experimental successes are kept secret in order to avoid workers' increased demands for control and to keep ahead of the competition since work redesign usually accrues production increases.[7] Dahl (1970), Heisler (1977) and Sheppard and Herrick (1972) point to

---

[6]Other, more paternalistic programs are exemplified by IBM's system and that at Alabama's Cast Iron Pipe Company (Mayer and Ruby, 1977; Zwerdling, 1975). These reforms involve the granting of extensive benefits in exchange for workers' commitment to unquestionably conform to the organizational desires. IBM, for example, invested 14% of its 1976 gross revenues in various employee-centered programs. Its chairperson claimed that their motivation was "good business... the more satisfied the better they'll perform." Mayer and Ruby report that, in exchange, employees stepping out of line could expect to face a "formidable--if often subtle--wrath."

[7]An invitation to attend a Quality of Work Life workshop sponsored by Work in America Institute (Rosow, 1979) stresses the benefit of acquiring an insider's look at work improvements in six companies. "Usually," the memo reads, "secrecy prevails for fear of the competition learning something and capitalizing on it...."

unconscious worker alienation as the major stumbling block. As long as workers don't actively demand more control, alienating structures of work will remain.

Other authors recognize a strong union role in keeping the worker oriented toward consumer issues and away from psycho-social benefits and rights (Alinsky, 1946; Weinstein and Weinstein, 1974; Blauner, 1964; Wier, 1973). For example, union response to the plywood industry experiments was negative. They resented the times when non-union, worker-owned firms paid better wages. During the first years of the plywood experiments, when profits were still small, unions also felt they threatened wage scales when worker-owners earned less than traditional plywood workers (Bernstein, 1974). Bluestone (1977) reports that union leaders fear that job redesigns are consultant-managers' gimmicks to reduce jobs, increase work and up production (Winpinsinger, 1973; Levitan and Johnston, 1973) and that concern for workers' lot is just a facade of owners and managers. Dahl (1970) also suggested that unions feel threatened by any program that resembles self-management because worker loyalty to union may fade if they become too satisfied with their worklife.

Finally, a more political interpretation comes from Friedenberg (1973), Aronowitz (1973), Lindenfeld (1973), Gorz (1973), and Braverman (1974). These authors believe that unions are highly conservative forces whose push to integrate the worker to the system is rewarded by larger

shares of economic gains to the union from owners and managers. Historically, original union impetus towards securing more worker control of the environment was placated by the enormous and sudden growth in scale and complexity of capitalist production. The unions' power and wealth is now so vast that they will not risk it nor allow others to bypass the dictums of the American work ethic which constitute the foundations of union strength.

Whatever the reason, the reality is that the American experiments offer little comfort to unions and to those seeking to reduce worker alienation and much emphasis is placed on the economic advantage for owners. Yet owners are also reluctant to commit themselves to redesign. One reason is the managers' opposition to a system that reduces their ranks and shifts many of their prerogatives directly to workers (Sheppard and Herrick, 1972; Tregoe, 1973). In contrast to Ginzberg's (1975) observation that American managers are not aware of the ideological implications of work redesign, Fitzgerald, as a manager, comments about increased participation that

> aside from real costs in reduced effectiveness (partly balanced, of course, by better motivation, higher output, less waste and so on) the impact of this new participation on the process and structure of management, though hard to estimate, must be anticipated because what is really involved is politics, the conscious sharing of control and power. History does not offer many examples of oligarchies that have abdicated with grace and goodwill... participation... not only may start out as an unpleasant ride for those who are accustomed to being fully in charge, but also may become one from which it is increasingly hard to dismount (1971, p. 43-44).

In short, owners are weary of alternative decision-making systems, have small confidence in workers' ability to manage themselves and are reluctant to invest in new team-building techniques instead of maintaining the efficiency and control allowed by the classical organization of work.

Since the early 1970's however, a new movement to promote increased worker welfare has been developing in the United States. It differs from previous work redesign experiments in that it claims to hold the workers' welfare as a primary interest, with economic gains for the company as a secondary, if also important, component. It also promises to involve workers more directly in any effort to change the hierarchical and physical environment. This trend is recognized as the "quality of work life" and already various national committees under this name have been established in government, labor organizations, private firms and universities.

Sheppard, et al (1975) and Walton (1975) have offered a number of categories that provide the framework for evaluating the quality of work life in a given environment. They recognize increased worker satisfaction, autonomy and improved self-esteem as the goals that will result from an adequate quality of work life. Some of the necessary elements are adequate and fair compensation, safe and healthy physical conditions, the immediate opportunity to use and develop one's capabilities (such as working in whole tasks, planning, access to information) and

opportunity for continued growth and advancement.

The social aspects of work are also viewed as important. Freedom from prejudice, egalitarianism (defined as the absence of stratification in terms of status symbols and or steep hierarchical structures) and constitutionalism in the workplace (free speech, due process, privacy) make part of these authors' conception of fairness. Of great importance is the expectation that there should be a reasonable balance between the workers' job and his total life space.

Walton adds one final consideration which stands out alone among American calls for workplace reform. He states that the quality of work life must also include an assessment by the worker of what she considers to be the social relevance of her work life. This involves the workers' perception of the organization's social responsibility in the choice of product development, waste disposal, marketing techniques, employment norms, even the industry's relations to other countries and political allegiances.[8] Aside from asking for participation in these matters--since the workers' jobs contribute to them--this claim reinforces the notion that workers are capable, thinking beings, who could

---

[8]Case (1973) has observed instances of this type of participation in the American work scene. He reports that among well educated, well paid professionals, such as young academics, radical caucuses are beginning to question the hierarchical structure and the final purpose of the product of their organization. This attitude, however is still not common in the American mainstream worker ideology.

use more than a cheerful environment to feel satisfied with their work life. This is indeed a major step in the direction towards workplace democracy.

Summary and Conclusions

In summarizing the current American scene, we find that many of the lauded work redesign efforts actually offer more to owners than to workers. The isolated instances where economic gains are subsumed to interest in reducing alienation are not enough to mobilize workers to demand more workplace democracy. Like much of European organized labor, unions are not ready to commit themselves to increasing shop floor democracy, although they do support participation increases through trade union representation. Owners and managers are uncomfortable with deviations from hierarchical structures of work and feel stronger responsibility to company shareholders than to workers' alienation problems.

The area of work reform is full of different experiences in the European and United States scenes. In Europe the emphasis on redesign has originated more as part of political and socioeconomic trends than in the United States. The perspective on what constitutes a fulfilling work environment are perhaps broader in Europe, allowing for a wider variety of experiments with the way work is organized. At the same time, this lack of uniformity in method leaves many unanswered questions

which, in contrast, have been thoroughly studied in the wealth of data accumulated by American job satisfaction surveys.

In relation to our model for studying alienation presented in Chapter I, we find that the European approach to organizational analysis is much more likely to recognize and highlight the roles of Levels 1 and 4 (See Figure 3). Therefore we can observe in the European literature an awareness of the economic, social and political forces that affect the design of work. We also note how certain politically-aligned strong labor unions--especially in France and Italy--attempt to conscientize workers about formerly unexpressed rights or needs by making them aware of how the sociopolitical context inhibits workers' desires for more control of their worklife. In other words, awareness of the relationship between Levels 1 and 4 is an essential element in "bottom-up" or worker initiated reform to decrease alienation.

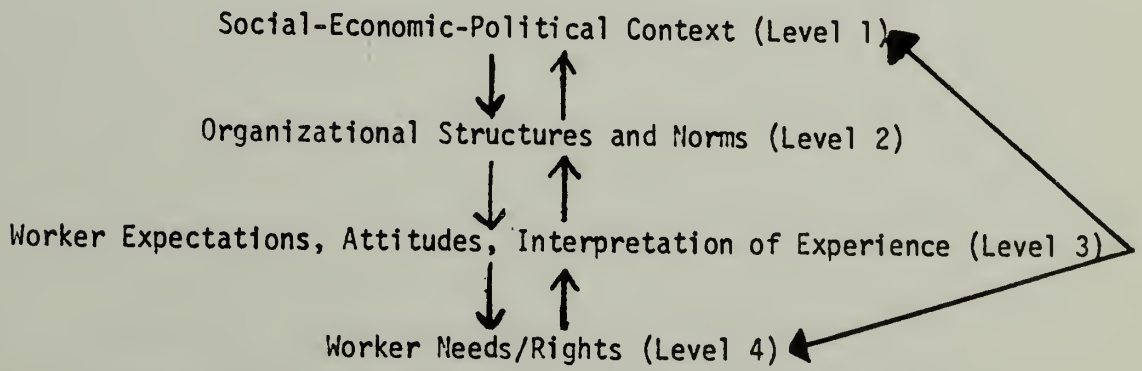

Figure 3. Levels of interest and their relationships in some of the foreign experiments on work alienation.

In the United States, I believe that the more recent quality of work life movement holds the best hope for focusing on worker-oriented affairs. The criteria offered to assess it faces many elements and worker capabilities heretofore ignored in the American work study context. A look at Davis and Cherns' (1975) two volumes on theory and quality of work life case studies which contain many of the articles quoted here, shows that although enthusiasm on this regard is still minimal in the United States, some studies are being published which regard the system as needing change, the worker as a capable and willing participant in improving her work life, the consultants' role as an occasional conservative force and the benefits that could be accrued if only investors and government lending agencies were willing to demand quality of work life reports before providing economic aid to organizations.

Quality of work life can be an important movement in America or, like many other ideas, could ultimately be used to refer to any "cosmetic" reform implemented in small organizational departments. This country's traditional way to study and improve work has been characterized by exclusive interest in economic gains. Social components of work acquired importance because they were related to production levels and not on their own merits. This customary approach would indicate that the quality of work life movement, as described previously will be either moderated in its expectations or will be funded for a short

time indeed. Yet, "corporations are so tenacious that they will even do good to survive" (Mobil, 1977). The fact that this movement has already had some acclaim seems encouraging. We should hope that a resourceful and rich nation like this one will perhaps set a world example in the fight against increasing worker alienation.

In the next chapter we will draw from our ideas of what constitutes alienation (Chapter I), America's traditional approach to the study of work (Chapter II) and the current European and American work reform scene (Chapter III) to discuss what could be some of the adjustments necessary for the development of true workplace democracy in the United States.

CHAPTER IV

WORK SATISFACTION: A SITUATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Personally, I find that moving from the world of work through its interpendence with non-work to the wider interdependencies at the societal and global levels, produces a very confusing and difficult set of relationships with which to engage. Yet, I feel that it is into this confusion that we should be moving (Spink, 1975).

Work Satisfaction Redefined

At the beginning of this study, I stated the motivations and expectations that formed the bases of this work. Primarily, I wanted to have the opportunity to highlight the notion that the study of work satisfaction can have economic, social and political implications and must therefore be analyzed from a perspective that goes beyond the individual worker and the immediate organization.

Such a reformulation or broadening of the concept of job satisfaction has strong implications for both researchers and consultants in the area since mainstream conceptualizations of work satisfaction translate into accepted modes of job redesign. Research and field work feed from each other and therefore our interest must involve reaching out to those who investigate as well as to practitioners. A main goal of this reformulation is to bring alternative structures of work to the attention of workers. In order to do this effectively,

analysts should, from the start of their studies, become familiar with alternative perspectives on what constitutes work satisfaction.

Therefore, aside from offering a broader approach to the study of work satisfaction, a second theme explored in this thesis is the academic preparation of consultants. As we shall discuss, one of the most important aspects of attempting to decrease work alienation is to expose the worker to alternative work structures and their effects, so that they can later make an educated choice when participating in their organization. This education, coming from organizational analysts, implies that these professionals must know not only about leadership, communication, decision-making, group behavior and organizational structure, but also must have knowledge regarding the socio-political sides and options of their work. The education of the organizational satisfaction analyst currently focuses on the productivity aspects of industrial behavior. Alternative programs which stress the socioeconomic origins of modern organizations must also be available if we wish to prepare students to develop more humane structures of work.

This chapter presents my ideas on how we could define work satisfaction. We begin by summarizing the evidence reviewed so far which underlined the shortcomings of the traditional way to study job satisfaction in the United States. My interpretation of satisfaction at work--largely based on the work alienation literature--is followed by

a discussion on what changes would be needed to effectively carry out the development of alternative approaches within this field. One of these, as has been mentioned, involves the re-education of researchers and consultants towards the more social scientific (and less business) interests. Ideally, students of the field should find literature in the course of their studies that considers the social and economic side of their work. Maybe then we could approach work with a more integrated notion of the complexities of our area.

Summary of previous chapters. It was originally stated that one goal of this study was to review the framework of the work satisfaction field in the United States. The focus of our inquiry was the literature of this area and how its inclusions and omissions reflected the authors' ideological environment. I had hoped to begin to develop a critical analysis of these writings in order to acquire an alternative notion of what it means to be a work satisfaction analyst. To these ends, each of the chapters in this dissertation has addressed the development and current status of this field.

Some of the human problems of work were presented and synthesized in Chapter I as work alienation concerns. The effects of worker alienation were observed in the health, social, political and developmental areas of the individual. We reviewed some selected theories of how

these problems originated and observed that these approaches ask for wider worker control of her environment. Also, these theories of worker alienation emphasized that the political and economic aspects of the industrial system in question played a major role in understanding the worker's satisfaction. The structure and technology of organizations were pinpointed as two crucial elements in the continuation of alienation.

But the dehumanization of jobs is also perpetuated by less tangible avenues. Social norms that see hierarchical structures as efficient and fair become fuel for workers' conformism with alienating environments. The lack of public dissemination of knowledge related to alternative working arrangements is another limitation to work humanization. Finally, this is all related to the reality of unconscious worker alienation: if labor is unaware of its dissatisfactions and its potential for change, it will not effectively demand more than continued increases in salary.

These concerns were summarized as four main levels of interest in the study of work alienation. First, the social, political and economic environment was recognized as a major variable in laying the groundwork for and/or limiting the development of satisfying working conditions. Secondly, the organization's structure and leadership further define the immediate work surroundings and alienating jobs are created, usually under norms that justify their existence as the most

efficient division of tasks. Third, in studying alienation, our analyses is shaped by what workers express as their sources of satisfaction and their expectations from work. Finally, the possibilities of unconscious worker alienation are studied to insure that workers' manifested attitudes arise from a free and knowledgeable decision, where all possibilities and alternatives have been made available.

Given that these are some of the key issues in the study of alienation, how has the area of organizational analysis dealt with the existing widespread alienation? In Chapter II we observed that work alienation in America is studied and labeled as work dissatisfaction. This term is less comprehensive than work alienation and, accordingly, we noticed that the area's theories, methodology and applied efforts exclude important aspects relevant to understanding the lack of work satisfaction.

For example, the literature on job satisfaction places little importance on the system outside the organization. The theories of satisfaction to date do not include the effect of the political and economic system that surrounds the organization as a fundamental departing point for effective analysis. The methodology used has become set by a long tradition of analyzing workers and developing procedures attractive to the top organizational echelons. As a result, most applied efforts justified the interest in work satisfaction by searching for concomitant increases in productivity; also, many of these

proposals were best suited for the middle and upper level workers. In relation to our model, we could place the area of job satisfaction as producing much data [one estimate (Seybolt and Gruenfeld, 1976) claims about 3000 articles on this subject] but yet, it has been limited to Levels 2 and 3, that is, to the analysis of the relationship between the organizational conditions and the individual's response to them. We learned that this selective interest of the area was conditioned by social and economic pressures on its practitioners and hypothesized that these shortcomings should be evident in present work redesign efforts based on the job satisfaction literature.

Indeed, in Chapter III, we observed that job redesign in the United States, while becoming more liberalized with time, shows at present the effects of its theoretical and methodological traditions. For example, the focus on productivity has caused that workers and labor organizations distrust most "work humanization" studies. Attempting to redesign work without taking geographical and workers' socioeconomic background into account has been linked to redesign failures. Few experiments attempt to alter the basic structural arrangements of organizations and even less refer to the industrial or social ambiance as origin of alienation and in need of change.

In contrast, as we observed in Chapter III, work alienation in other countries is dealt with by focusing on everyone's control over their surroundings. Many European organizations experiment openly

with different forms of worker's control and the eradication of job alienation is included in various political programs. Their writings on work satisfaction are much more likely than their American counterparts to include a socioeconomic discussion on the origins of alienation.

However, we also noted the absence of a unified direction in the European movement towards work reform. Each country has different political priorities, although most governments support the increase in worker autonomy. Contrasting among systems is further limited by lack of worker satisfaction data (Levels 2 and 3 in our model) within each system as well as among different countries.

One important lesson from the European experience was added to our model for the study of alienation. Worker rights and needs are often hidden under unconscious alienation. The raising of worker consciousness there is generally achieved by making them aware that the system is changeable and that there are alternative structures which will maintain the economic level while making work more participative for all. Therefore, we could say, where in the United States the study of work focused on levels two and three, Europeans highlight the effect of the relationship between levels one and four, thus producing very different types of work redesign.

Most of the literature reviewed so far reinforces our initial concerns with the basic elements of the work satisfaction area in the

United States. The omissions which have been mentioned point to the need to reconstruct our perceptions of organizations and the possibilities of achieving some satisfactions within it. This new perspective of the fundamental tenets of the field must accompany a reevaluation of the consultant's role in creating a more satisfying life for the worker. In the next section we will begin to name some of these changes by stating our ideas on work satisfaction and the roles of those interested in it.

Work satisfaction within and beyond the organization. An organization can be viewed as a conglomerate of resources, relationships, and technology located within a particular economic, social and political system which affects its working environment or structure. I define an alienated worker as one who, in response to the deterioration of any of these elements which affect her job, disassociates herself from her work, perceiving it only as a necessary evil in order to enjoy "real" life. I consider this separation of work and the rest of life to be detrimental since people spend most of their time working; therefore, where work is dissatisfying, this negative experience translates into a majority of unpleasant waking hours. Also, most people identify themselves according to what they do and working in meaningless or oppressive jobs may be damaging to the person's self-image.

Work dissatisfaction, as has been studied in the United States, is a manifestation of worker alienation. At present, it is unlikely that a worker in this country will express his dislike for the organizational structure, hierarchy or design. He has learned that these are unchangeable variables and has rarely been exposed to alternative systems. It is much more likely that he will rather express dissatisfaction with the supervisory style, peer relationships, pay and benefits which are the usual items reviewed in job satisfaction surveys. In brief, lack of satisfaction with different aspects of work can be viewed as the syndrome manifested by the worker who is unknowingly alienated for reasons thought to be beyond his control.

We have noted that defining satisfaction exclusively on the basis of fulfillment of certain aspects of work has not provided fertile groundwork for effective change in reducing worker alienation. I consider this to be due to the limited focus of work satisfaction analysts to date. Rather than emphasizing individual aspects of work and their fulfillment, a wider view of the variables causing alienation at work may provide a more effective avenue for change. The rampant dissatisfaction of workers at this time certainly begs for alternative solutions to this problem.

How then can we begin to resolve this issue? Certainly, a socio-historical perspective of each particular case would seem to be advantageous. And given the wide variety of hierarchical positions in the

highly bureaucratized modern industry, it seems reasonable to propose a situational view of worker satisfaction.

When viewed this way, satisfaction at work becomes more than whether an individual is currently being fulfilled in his security or self-actualization needs. Having a situational perspective means considering a combination of circumstances at a given moment. While the individual's perception of his situation retains importance, our explanation of work alienation is perceived as primarily originating from variables in the larger system. This socioeconomic and political background is also seen as a major subject of change in order to reduce worker alienation.

Evidence in this respect can be found in the literature. For example, a large-scale survey of 1533 American workers at all occupational levels carried out by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center resulted in the often-cited results that workers were more interested in challenging work than in good pay and job security (Work in America, 1973). Yet, in 1977, White analyzed this data, this time rejecting the composite view of the worker and instead, categorizing them according to occupational levels. His results show that for blue-collar workers, interesting work was significantly low in importance, while professional and managerial workers rated it as their most important aspect of the job. Lack of satisfaction with pay was uniformly high among all occupational groups, but fringe benefits

and job security were ranked drastically different by white-collar and blue-collar workers.

That study is not unique in showing the relationship between hierarchical level and work satisfaction. After reviewing the Social Psychology and Sociology literature on work orientation and leadership behavior, Moss Kanter (1976) found that alienated behavior was related to organizational level. She argues that what had been traditionally recognized as women's alienated behavior at low echelons and their directiveness while in managerial positions are congruent with men's behavior in positions of blocked mobility and little system-wide power, respectively. She theorizes that organizational behavior is a structural phenomenon but its approach has traditionally been to focus on and to adjust the individual because

> It is much easier... to approach the individual, the family or the school with change policies and research programs, as these are relatively small and powerless elements of the society compared to work organizations. But I argue that it is those complex organizations that more critically shape the prospects for the work life of adults and it is thus those systems we must investigate and understand. It is the nature, forms and degree of hierarchy that should bear the burden of change (p. 427).

Another factor affecting worker alienation and reaction to job redesign programs is the socioeconomic background and geographic location of the study. Hulin and Blood (1968) have argued that job enlargement is a more effective mechanism in the reduction of alienation among workers who adhere to middle-class values than among blue-collar

workers that are alienated from the traditional work ethic. They suggest that the job enlargement thesis does not hold when the cultural background and the location of the organization are not taken into account. Other cross-cultural studies also highlight the importance of culture (Slocum, Topechack and Kuhn, 1971) and the country's political status (Blunt, 1973) when assessing satisfaction at work.

One final study underlines the relationship between time and worker disposition towards their job. A more recent survey done by Michigan's Institute for Social Research again interviewed 1515 representatives of all employed adults, all occupations, all industries and 74 different geographic locations in the United States (Walfish, 1979). The results show that satisfaction has decreased by large percentages since 1973. This time, all workers complained more about family income and fringe benefits than any other aspect of their jobs. Apparently, as economic austerity increased in the seventies, the occupational differences regarding material concerns became less marked. It could be inferred that satisfaction is affected by the general status of the times and that as circumstances change, so will the importance that people place on one aspect over the others.

But as this last study shows, with time workers have become more dissatisfied and this is one response that does not seem to vary. The researches just mentioned point to a possible avenue open for experimentation. Lack of work satisfaction with different elements of work

is a very important reality for the present work force. Tackling these problems at the organizational level is necessary, yet not enough to suppress future dissatisfaction. In order to do this, a more complete view of the worker within the cultural, political, economic and industrial system in question is essential. In this way, we can hope that changes in the system will translate into alternative and less alienating structures of work.

So far we have argued in favor of a situational perspective for job satisfaction that takes into consideration those areas which are traditionally within the realm of sociology's concept of alienation. Yet we also mentioned that the individual's view of her reality must remain an important facet of the study of work satisfaction. We still need a set of work-related concerns which can guide research and from which field work can depart in its interventions.

Our interest must not be so much to have a set of factors--supervision, pay, conditions at work, peer relations, etc.--which limits our inquiry, but rather a conglomerate of accepted essentials which at the specific historical moment of each study are recognized by the authors to represent the absolute minimum requirements for a satisfying work experience.

A number of these requirements which I consider essential are currently found in the quality of work life paradigm as described by Sheppard et al. (1975) and Walton (1975). These are: adequate salary/

benefits, opportunities to develop, egalitarianism and constitutionalism at work, a balance between work and the total life space and the workers' power to effect changes in the structure and the social relevance of their work. It is important to keep in mind that work satisfaction analyses should maintain a time perspective not only on deciding which factors to add or delete but also, that factors are defined differently with the passing of time. For example, we observed that the importance granted by white collar workers to "having an adequate salary" changed significantly between 1973 and 1977 (Walfish, 1979). Egalitarianism may mean more than not having sex or race discrimination at a given time: it will involve affirmative action programs as needed. Fair and legal procedures or constitutionalism at work may change as workers learn more about self-management. What was considered a just balance between work and total life space is now being questioned. In fact,

> For the first time in 1977 Michigan researchers have included questions about the relationship between work and life and certain aspects of life away from work with particular attention paid to the relationship between work and family life and work and leisure. ...they report that energy is sometimes lacking for family life... they are concerned about the time they spend at work. "These survey results confirm basic connections between life on and off the job that are only beginning to be understood," Michigan researchers conclude. They may also signal that job satisfaction depends not on the job alone, but on how well it meshes with time off the job--with the desire of workers to have ample time to spend in leisure time activities with their families. With the work force increasingly composed of workers to whom a <u>balance of work and leisure</u> is important, <u>the relationship between the two may</u>

> become a basic factor in assessing job satisfaction in the future (Walfish, 1979, underlining added).

Finally, we mentioned the opportunity to develop and the workers' power to effect changes in their organization and the social relevance of their product. At present, we can consider these options null without worker education programs. It was previously mentioned that unconscious alienation is one of the largest barriers for effective change in the American workplace. As we observed in Chapter I, social values and norms that reenforce accepting the existing hierarchical structures as the only option for organization are basic elements of the perpetuation of alienation in this country.

Later on we noted that in Europe, where industrial democracy is being widely experimented, some labor organizations actively demand and participate in the implementation of alternative forms of organization. The key to involving workers in work redesign seems to lie in how exposed they have been to the notion that work can be arranged--usually with no decrease in production, therefore no threat to their standard of living--in ways which could be more satisfying and interesting. In relation to this Gorz has stated that

> to reveal deeply felt (but also hidden) needs and articulate them, we must first show how their satisfaction is actually within our reach; that, for instance, repetitive work, regimentation at the places of work, and authoritarian division of labor are no longer technical necessities and can be fought against successfully; that squalor, ignorance, insecurity, new scarcities coexisting with waste, etc., can be done away with; and that a system that makes people work

> like zombies to produce useless, destructive or self-destructive things has outlived its usefulness (1964) (underlining added).

To avoid disillusion and "cosmetic" changes, work reform should, in theory and practice, arise from the lower organizational echelons. There are a number of advantages to "bottom-up" change, as previously discussed. Redesign is achieved by those immediately involved with the tasks, commitment to the reforms should be stronger than if imposed from above and real organizational participation is introduced from the development stages of the program.

However, to effectively carry out these goals, workers must be given the opportunity to learn what changes are available to them and how to put them into practice.

The role of the organizational analyst is of crucial importance at this point. At best, workers themselves could sample the alternatives developed elsewhere. But experiments in the United States are not always publicized (Rosow, 1979) and having workers visit foreign plants, although successful in terms of education (Ford Foundation, 1976) is too costly to contemplate.

The practitioner's role can be extended past that of analyzer and proponent of change. In her role as educator, she can instead provide the main subjects of her research with different alternative systems adjustable to their situation.

The focus should be on wide, structural, preventive changes, where

all workers actually shape their organization to become more satisfying with the passing of time. To state that workers need to be allowed more participation in organizations is not enough. Initially, they need to become familiar with the alternatives, with examples pertinent to their experience and with different methods of arriving at a less alienating existence at the workplace.

Summary. In this section I have presented my ideas on alienation, work satisfaction and the alienated worker. This wider situational perspective on what constitutes work satisfaction includes two major areas for the organizational analyst. First, investigations and applied efforts must be developed under a conscious understanding of the economic, social, political and industrial/organizational ambiance. The advantages of this more complicated, yet hopefully more accurate level of analysis have been discussed throughout this study. In addition, we suggest that accepting these elements as part of our studies will allow us to see them as origins of alienation and susceptible to change. This type of system alteration is one important step in the beginning of the creation of less alienating work structures for the future.

Second, the psychological aspect of worker discontent is not disregarded, but rather highlighted as the outlet of worker alienation. To explore the degree of discontent, a set of factors must guide

organizational interventions. I propose that at present, the quality of worklife movement presents a comprehensive group of minimum requirements for a satisfying work experience in America. Table 1 summarizes the main issues to be considered as part of work alienation studies.

A historical perspective is argued not only in the selection of factors relevant to each case study but also in their definition. Currently, an important aspect is the familiarization of workers with alternative organizational systems. In the future, the United States may see the need to introduce new elements (such as economic democracy) to their quest for improved industrial experiences. It is implied in this reformulation of the concept of work satisfaction that the area must maintain a dynamic point of view and that the responsibility for this openness remains ultimately with organizational researchers and practitioners.

The Area of Organizational Behavior: Some Final Suggestions

General recommendations. In the previous section we described a conceptualization of work satisfaction which suggested a number of changes in the way we currently approach this area. Now we turn our attention to modifications which certain aspects of the field could undergo in order to accompany our new viewpoint on what constitutes work satisfaction.

First, again we will emphasize the need for the area to consider

Table 1. Situational issues related to worker alienation and factors affecting work satisfaction. The consultant's situational analysis of system and organization-wide elements are affected by and combined with workers' individual and group perceptions about selected (changeable) elements of work. Worker satisfactions/dissatisfactions with factors (at right) are viewed as the manifestation of alienation with work which originates from the system and organizational characteristics at left. Traditional studies of worker satisfaction briefly described some of the latter while focusing their analyses and limiting their changes to a few of the former. The main assumption underlying the present selected issues is that changes developed concurrently for system, organization and workers' circumstance should have the longest lasting repercussions in decreasing worker alienation. These factors emphasize worker fulfillment, although a situational perspective should allow for temporary shifts in focus on production as needed by the system, the organization and its members.

A. ORGANIZATIONAL CONSULTANT'S ANALYSIS		B. WORKERS' ANALYSIS
SYSTEM:	ORGANIZATION:	SATISFACTION WITH:
Social (norms, values)	Technology (mechanization, social effects)	Salary/benefits/ working conditions
Political (consciousness of worker situation) participative/ authoritarian	Sophistication (openness to work reform, redesign, worker participation/management)	Egalitarianism
Economic (distribution of wealth; classes)	Size	Constitutionalism
Industrialization (advanced/ developing)	Product	Balance between work and life
	Tradition (paternalistic, participative, authoritarian)	Power, Autonomy
	Work force (socially, educationally, economically, politically, consciousness regarding alternative work systems)	Workplace design/flow
	Structure	Product and organizational's social relevance

worker alienation and not productivity as its major dependent variable. The search for increased productivity has for too long been an essential component of the study of work satisfaction. The reduction and eventual eradication of alienation must become if not separate, the primary goal of work satisfaction analysts. The Bolivar project of 1974 exemplified this attitude in the initial agreement signed by management and union which stated that

> The purpose of the joint management-labor Work Improvement Program is to make work better and more satisfying for all employees, salaried and hourly, while maintaining the necessary productivity for job security... the purpose is not to increase productivity. If increased productivity is a by-product of the program, ways of rewarding the employees for increased productivity will become legitimate matters for inclusion in the program (Maccoby, 1975, p. 44).

The interest in maintaining the levels of productivity is still a prominent one. Job security and the standard of living will not lose their importance under quality of work life studies. Economic interests are a primary source of dissatisfaction to the workers[1] (White, 1977; Walfish, 1979) and their complaints are a fundamental concern for this area of work. However, we stress that there are alternative working systems which--at least--do not affect productivity negatively and which could offer a more pleasant experience to the

---

[1]As examples, the reader will recall that Sweden's workers were not interested in humanizing work programs until their economic security was first ensured; also, many of the workers' control experiments have originated from workers' economic need to keep their organizations from closing, rather than from industrial democracy issues.

worker who faces it every day. These include worker participation programs, job redesign, workers control and ultimately workers' self-management.

Productivity is also important in relation to the costs and benefits accrued by implementing these improvements to the quality of work life. Government subsidies and laws related to this area (Department of Labor, 1979) can begin to provide a rationale for economic commitment to work reforms. Organizations must not provide improvements in the workplace in lieu of economic rewards for employees, since the basis of these programs is to win worker participation in the redesign of their jobs as an inherent right, not as an additional benefit. Furthermore, if financial increases in productivity are accrued by the implementation of these systems, provisions should be established to share these gains with workers.

In short, accepting that worker satisfaction is the primary goal of our area does not translate into a necessary negation of the importance of productivity. Economic interests are important to workers and to owners. The challenge resides in creating organizations where improvements in worker alienation are not achieved for economic reasons (to increase productivity) and where workers can begin to share a more equitable distribution of psychologically, and materially satisfying rewards.

Aside from reviewing the way we define satisfaction at work and

the area's goals, I propose that certain aspects of the methodologies common to work satisfaction studies need to be revised. Initially, the development of a strong side current of literature based on labor as the sponsor of experiments could provide an interesting contrast to the present, almost exclusive sponsorship by organization owners and top management. Aside from what Nord (1977) mentions about client diversification being a self-correcting mechanism for this area, consulting from the employee's point of view could create a strong bond between worker and analyst. An organizational behaviorist sponsored by owners and top management is probably viewed by workers as another company tool to increase production under the guise of studying morale.[2] Relevant information can hardly be expected to arise from such an experimenter-subject relationship.

Other methodological problems remain as challenges for future

---

[2]A General Vice President of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Winpinsinger wrote:

> ...I have a sneaking suspicion that "job enrichment" may be just another name for "time and motion" study. As Thomas Brooks said in a recent article... "Substituting the sociologists' questionnaire for the stop watch is likely to be no gain for the workers. While workers have a stake in productivity, it is not always identical with that of management. Job enrichment programs have cut jobs as effectively as automation and stop watches. And the rewards of productivity are not always equitably shared."
>
> I also have a feeling that what some companies call job enrichment is really little more than the introduction of gimmicks, like doing away with time clocks of developing "work teams" or designing jobs to "maximize personal involvement"--whatever that means (1973).

resolution. Collective interviewing, for example, should become a more integral part of the data gathering (its benefits were previously discussed in Chapter II); worker/union participation should begin with each experiment; independent variables such as organizational ownership and workers' view of the social relevance of their product have yet to be widely tested and their measurement will be difficult. In addition, implementing these programs should be preceded or occur concomitantly with arrangements to train workers so that their participation can have preventive and long lasting effects.

There are many obstacles to the reforms proposed in this study. Some of the suggestions undermine procedures that have traditionally been an integral part of the area's concepts and methods. These modifications may be less difficult to achieve if initially organizational analysts are academically exposed to different perspectives. In the appendix we discuss a hypothetical group of experiences which could parallel the goals put forth in this study.

Evaluation of the framework used in this theoretical study. We had mentioned in Chapter I that infrequent discussion on the alienation vs. satisfaction perspectives could be found in the literature (Nord, 1977; Best and Connolly, 1976; Seybolt and Gruenfeld, 1976). After reviewing the state of the work satisfaction and the alienation theoretical and applied efforts, I believe we can conclude

that a choice between the two is not possible: their approach to the study of work is qualitatively different and chosing one will undoubtedly leave gaps which are at present fulfilled by the other.

Our initial impression seems to have been ascertained. The framework for work alienation is indeed comprehensive, wide and preventive (in its focus on system-wide changes). The work satisfaction literature in contrast, stands out as highly productive and often-validated techniques to gather information regarding workers' fulfillment with specific aspects of work.

A synthesis of these two approaches has up to now been lacking in the literature of organizational behavior. Work satisfaction or the lack of it can be explained according to the limits provided by the social, economic and political forces in each system and which have been the subject of study in the work alienation researches. Work alienation theorists can incorporate worker input into their studies, unlike Seybolt and Gruenfeld's (1976) statement in which they suggest

> ...that work alienation must be objectively measured by analysis of the work situation itself, not by self-reported indications of attitudes concerning this work... perhaps the most fruitful approach is objective, situational measurement of work alienation, not relying upon subjective attitudinal measures (p. 201).

In this thesis, we have offered instead an approach to the study of workplace behavior that incorporates both the alienation and satisfaction characteristics. I believe that this can be a fruitful approach since, as we observed in Chapter III, when work redesign was carried

out under one of these, important levels of interest which should be part of work studies were left undeveloped. We conclude by reaffirming that although the work alienation paradigm should be our theoretical and research guide, the work satisfaction component, and the workers' input in this regard must be an integral part of the analyst's diagnosis of the organizational psychology.

Throughout this theoretical study, the implications of our inquiries have been constantly interwoven among its theoretical, research, practice and academic sides. Most areas have similar links among their different endeavors, yet, as previously mentioned, the areas of organizational studies are particularly unified in theory and practice.

This is why it becomes of paramount importance to continuously develop new theory in the light of recent findings. This has been a drawback of the work satisfaction area to date.

In contrast, the work alienation framework also needs more empirical testing. This can be one important limitation to the present analyses. However, I considered that it could be more advantageous to the area to set down some new theoretical directions and hope that these could guide the way to novel research.

I believe that the ideas and broader conceptualizations presented herein can provide the beginning of future interesting research. To base our work on the alienation framework while using worker input for our analysis and with the goal of bringing alternative structures to

the awareness of our subjects--whatever organizational level they may represent--can be an interesting challenge to students of organizational psychology.

Conclusions. This study began with the recognition that the way work is structured has social, political and economic origins and therefore, it affects those aspects of the working force. Initially, technology and organizational structure were designed in strict hierarchical systems in which the worker carried out a few or one specialized task. The intent was to maximize profits, but this general arrangement had other repercussions. Workers were divided in controlled units, class differences were marked, worklife's authoritarianism contrasted sharply with democracy outside the workgate and worker alienation became the rule, rather than the exception, in twentieth century organizations.

The measurement and analysis of work developed an approach to the study of work satisfaction that provided few gains in the decrease or prevention of work alienation. Various reasons account for this. While research in this area resulted in the acquisition of much information on what workers wanted, needed and how they thought, it failed to observe the role of organizations and the larger social and cultural systems in perpetuating worker alienation. Also, by confounding the study of work satisfaction with interest in increasing productivity,

the former's importance was often obscured.

In the present analysis, a broader conceptualization of worker satisfaction has been offered. It proposes that to prevent present and future increases in work alienation, changes in the larger system are necessary. For example, social norms that reinforce nonparticipatory forms of organization must be altered; political environments that allow not only undemocratic, but actually authoritarian systems of worker control must be encouraged to include the workplace in their future reforms; economic interests that accept improvements in quality of worklife only if they translate into increased profits must become interested in recognizing their social commitment to workers.

Secondly, it proposes that the workers' view of their situation should guide the direction of research. Each case study should develop with worker participation evaluating their satisfaction with elements that are an issue at that moment. A firm goal should be the development of worker consciousness and skills to gain larger control of their worklife.

There are various advantages to approaching the study of work satisfaction in this way. The situational perspective gives the area a dynamic outlook and an openness to continued search for improved methods and solutions. This applies to all aspects of the area--research, consulting and the academic community. Also, the worker's role is seen as an important one in shaping each case study. This

involves workers at all organizational levels and the goal is, foremost, personal growth towards a more democratic worklife.

We find at present a number of limitations to this approach. As previously mentioned, traditional currents from top organizational echelons, from conservative research and practitioners and from some organized labor areas in the United States present a strong obstacle to the development of alternative work structures. Government action is needed in order to publicize, subsidize and experiment with changes in this regard.

Yet, we must realize that in order for these events to happen, the American work environment needs examples that are closer to its experience. In a recent meeting at the Department of Commerce it was mentioned that the new Civil Service Reform Act contains little about the quality of worklife because its authors found it hard to define without the help of concrete empirical evidence in its favor (Roundtable on Work Humanization, 1979).

However, the beginnings of a new direction in the area of organizational analysis in the United States are being felt. The Michigan 1977 survey stated that

> ...In any case, the search for single, simple and universally relevant explanations for changes in job satisfaction, and other outcome measures, is likely to be fruitless. The explanatory factors may be complex and may well be different for the various subpopulations that make up the American labor force (Walfish, 1979).

Michael Maccoby's work at Harman International and ACTION are further showcases of what I believe to be the area's future (Maccoby, 1975; W.E. Upjohn, 1974; Dewar, 1977; Roundtable on Work Humanization, 1979). In the first case, the experiment on job redesign in a private company was developed and implemented with both union (UAW) and management guidance. The participatory work improvement program with ACTION's management and union (AFSCME) is still in its first stages, but already it presents a workable model for the public sector.

What distinguishes these studies from previous quality of worklife experiments is their recognition of need for worker input in reforming the existing job designs. In reporting about the ACTION experience, one employee commented on what the Michigan study proposed: each case is different, and work reform is likely to have alternative definitions with each new setting.

I believe that in this situational perspective lies the future of the organizational behavior area. Two unchanging realities are that work alienation's growth must be inhibited and that worker education for greater participation in the quality and structure of their jobs must be one important goal of the future of any democratic nation. This issue affects all of us and the role of the organizational behaviorist must involve bringing a level of sophistication and an openness for democracy to the many alienating work environments of today.

REFERENCES

Agervold, M. Swedish experiments in industrial democracy. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 2). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Alinsky, S.D. Reveille for radicals. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1946.

Amsden, J. & Brier, S. Coal miners on strike: The transformation of strike demands and the formation of the National Miners' Union. In Work Relations Group, Uncovering the hidden history of the American workplace, The Review of Radical Political Economists, Winter 1978, 10(4), 1-23.

Argyris, C. Personality and organization. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

Aronowitz, S. Trade unionism and workers' control. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Bamundo, P.J. The relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction: An empirical test of three models on a national sample. Dissertation Abstracts International, December 1977, 38, 3594(A).

Batt, W. & Weinberg, E. Labor-management cooperation today. Harvard Business Review, January-February 1978, 56(2), 96-104.

Bell, D. Adjusting men to machines. Commentary, January 1947, 3, 79-88.

Bell, D. The end of ideology. New York: Free Press, 1960.

Benne, D. Some ethical problems in group and organizational consultation. Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 15(2).

Bernstein, P. Run your own business: Worker-owned plywood firms. Working Papers, Summer 1974, 2(2), 24-34.

Best, M.H., & Connolly, W.B. The politicized economy. Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath, 1976.

Blackler, F.H.M. & Brown, C.A. The impending crisis in job redesign. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1975, 48, 185-193.

Blauner, R. Alienation and freedom: The factory worker and his industry. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Bluestone, I. Work humanization in practice: What can labor do? In W.J. Heisler & J.W. Houck (Eds.), A matter of dignity: Inquiries into the humanization of work. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977.

Blumberg, P. Industrial democracy: The sociology of participation. New York: Schocken Books, 1973.

Blunt, P. Cultural and situational determinants of job satisfaction amongst management in South Africa: A research note. Journal of Management Studies, May 1973, pp. 131-140.

Bowen, D. Value dilemmas in organizational development. Journal of

Applied Behavioral Science, 1977, 13(4), 543-557.

Bowers, D.G. Organizational development: promises, performances, possibilities. Organizational Dynamics, Spring 1976, 4(4), 50-62.

Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. Class power and alienated labor. Monthly Labor Review, March 1975, pp. 9-25.

Braverman, H. Labor and monopoly capital: The degradation of work in the twentieth century. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.

Caplow, T. The sociology of work. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954.

Carnoy, M. & Levin, H. Workers' triumph: The Meriden experiment. Working Papers, Winter 1976, pp. 47-56.

Case, J. Workers' control: Towards a North American movement. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Clark, A.W. The client-practitioner relationship as an inter-system engagement. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 1). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Clark, P.A. Action research and organizational change. London: Harper and Row, 1972.

Crowfoot, J.E. & Chesler, M.A. Contemporary perspectives on planned social change: A comparison. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1974, 10(3), 278-303.

Culbert, S.A. An organizational experiment in self-produced freedom to redefine roles of professionals. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns

(Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 2). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Dahl, R. Power to the workers? New York Review of Books, November 19, 1970, pp. 20-25.

D'Aprix, R.M. Struggle for identity: The silent revolution against corporate conformity. Homewood, Illinois: Dow Jones-Irving, 1972.

Davis, L.E. & Cherns, A.B. (Eds.). The quality of working life (Vols. 1 & 2). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Espinosa, J.G., & Zimbalist, A.S. Economic democracy: Workers' participation in Chilean industry 1970-1973. New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Etzioni, A. Two approaches to organizational analysis: A critique and a suggestion. In H.C. Schulberg, A. Sheldon & F. Baker (Eds.), Program Evaluation in the Health Field. New York: Behavioral Publications, 1969.

Finch, F., Jones, H., & Litterer, J. Managing for organizational effectiveness: An experiential approach. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

Fine, K.S. Worker participation in Israel. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.). Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Fitzgerald, T.H. Why motivation theory doesn't work. Harvard Business Review, July-August 1971, pp. 37-44.

Ford Foundation. A work experiment: Six Americans in a Swedish plant. New York: Ford Foundation, Office of Reports, 1976.

Freidenberg, E.Z. Work in America: The hostile delusions of the working class. Harper's Magazine, June 1973, 246, 12-16.

García, R. Ideología de la locura o locuras de la ideología? In F. Basaglia, Psiquiatría o ideología de la locura? Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 1972.

Gardell, B. Compatibility-incompatibility between organization and individual values: A Swedish point of view. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 1). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Gibb, J.R. The role of the consultant. Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 15(2), 1-4.

Ginzberg, E. The manpower connection: Education and work. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Girth, H.H. & Mills, C.W. From Max Weber: Essays in sociology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Gorz, A. Strategy for labor: A radical proposal. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.

Gorz, A. Workers' control is more than just that. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Gutman, H.G. Work, culture and society in industrializing America.

New York: Random House, 1977.

Hammarstrom, A. Joint worker-management consultation: The case of LKAB, Sweden. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 2). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Hampden-Turner, C. The factory as an oppressive and nonemancipatory environment. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Hansson, R. Work humanization in Sweden. In Department of Commerce (Sponsor), Roundtable on Work Humanization. Conference presented at the monthly meeting, Wash., D.C., May 17, 1978.

Harrison, R. Some criteria for choosing the depth of organizational intervention strategy. In D. Kolb, I. Rubin & J. McIntyre, Organizational psychology. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1974.

Heisler, W.J. Worker alienation: 1900-1975. In W.J. Heisler & J.W. Houck (Eds.), A matter of dignity: Inquiries into the humanization of work. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977.

Herman, P. Workers, watches and self-management. Working Papers. Winter 1974, 1(14), 18-25.

Hersey, P. & Blanchard, K. Management of organizational behavior. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972.

Herzberg, F. One more time: How do you motivate employees? Harvard Business Review, 1968, 46, 53-62.

Houck, J.W. Early historical traces of the contemporary debate about work alienation. In W.J. Heisler & J.W. Houck (Eds.), A matter of dignity: Inquiries into the humanization of work. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977.

Hulin, C. & Blood, M. Job enlargement, individual differences and worker responses. Psychological Bulletin, 1968, 61(1), 41-55.

Hunnius, G. Workers' self-management in Yugoslavia. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson, & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Hunnius, G., Garson, D. & J. Case (Eds.). Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Hunt, S.L. Relationship between the meaning of work and the meaning of leisure. Dissertation Abstracts International, January 1978, 38, 38114 (A).

Institute for Social Research. Employee ownership: ESOP. (Report No. 99-6-09433) Springfield, Va.: National Technical Information Systems, 1978.

Jaffee, D. Number nine: Creating a counter institution. In J. Agee (Ed.), The radical therapist. New York: Ballantine Books, 1971.

Jenkins, D. The human factories. The Nation. January 12, 1974, pp. 45-48.

Jenkins, D. Beyond job enrichment: Workplace democracy in Europe. Working Papers, Winter 1975, pp. 51-57.

Kahn, R.L. Organizational development: Some problems and proposals. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1974, 10(4), 485-502.

Kanter, R.M. The impact of hierarchical structures on the work behavior of men and women. Social Problems, April 1976, 23(4), 415-430.

Kasl, S.U. Work and mental health: Contemporary research evidence. In W.J. Heisler & J.W. Houck (Eds.), A matter of dignity: Inquiries into the humanization of work. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977.

Kolb, D., Rubin, I., & McIntyre, J. (Eds.). Organizational psychology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974.

Korbash, E. The economic "theories" of Maoism. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974.

Lawler, E.E. III. Measuring the psychological quality of working life: The why and how of it. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 1). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Lawless, D. Effective management: Social psychological approach. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972.

Levitan, S.A. & Johnston, W.B. Job redesign, reform, enrichment--Exploring the limitations. Monthly Labor Review, July 1973, pp. 35-41.

Lindenfeld, F. (Ed.). Radical perspective on social problems. New York: Macmillan, 1973.

List, W. In Sweden the byword is cooperation. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson

& J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Litchman, C.M. & Hunt, R.G. Personality and organization theory: A review of some conceptual literature. Psychology Bulletin, 1971, 76(4), 271-294.

Litterer, J.A. The analysis of organizations. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.

Lytle, W.O. "A smart camel may refuse the last straw': A case study of obstacles to job and organizational design in a new manufacturing operation. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 1). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Maccoby, M. Changing work: The Bolivar project. Working Papers, Summer 1975, pp. 43-55.

Mandel, E. The debate on workers' control. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Martin, A.R. Morale and productivity: A review of the literature. Public Personnel Review. January 1969, 30(1), 42-45.

Marx, K. Early writings. In J.W. Seybolt & L. Gruenfeld, The discriminant validity of work alienation and work satisfaction measures. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 49, 1976, pp. 193-202.

Mayer, A.J. & Ruby, M. One firm's family. Newsweek, Nov. 21, 1977, pp. 82-87.

Mayo, E. Problemas sociales de una civilizacion industrial. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Vision, 1977.

Means, R.L. The ethical imperative: The crisis in American values. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970.

Mills, C.W. The professional ideology of social pathologists. American Journal of Sociology, September 1943, 49(2), 165-80.

Mills, C.W. The sociological imagination. Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1970.

Mills, T. Leadership from abroad: European developments in industrial democracy. In W.J. Heisler & J.W. Houck (Eds.), A matter of dignity: Inquiries into the humanization of work. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977.

Mire, J. Trade unions and worker participation in management. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 1). New York: Free Press, 1979.

Mobil. Capitalism: Moving target (advertisement). Washington Post, Sunday, October 16, 1977.

National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life. A plant-wide productivity plan in action: Three years of experience with the Scanlon Plan. Washington, D.C., May 1975.

Nicolaus, M. Remarks at the American Sociological Association Convention. NACLA, 1970, p. 1.

Nord, W.R. The failure of current applied behavioral science: A

Marxian perspective. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1974, 10(4), 557-578.

Nord, W.R. Job satisfaction reconsidered. American Psychologist, December 1977, pp. 1026-1035.

Ollman, B. Alienation: Marx's conception of man in capitalist society. London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Peretti, P. & Zrout, T. Intra and intercorrelates among community, family, home and job satisfaction. Indian Journal of Applied Psychology, July 1975, 12(2), 83-89.

Ramírez, G. Work satisfaction among doctors and nurses: The case of an outpatient clinic at Humacao, Puerto Rico. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Massachusetts, 1976.

Reddin, W.J. Confessions of an organizational change agent. Group and Organization Studies, March 1977, 2(1), 33-41.

Renwick, P.A. & Lawler, E.E. What you really want from your job. Psychology Today, May 1978, 11(12), 53-118.

Ringwald, B.E. Some political ramifications of the literature of social psychology: A conceptual and empirical study. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974.

Rosenfeld, H. Cultural revolution and industrial organization in China. Third World Forum, January 1973, 1(3), 28-33.

Rosow, J. Memo from Work in America Institute, April 19/9.

Roundtable on Work Humanization. U.S. Department of Labor, Washington,

D.C., 1978-1979.

Ryan, W. Blaming the victim. New York: Random House, 1971.

Schauer, H. Critique of co-determination. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Schein, E.H. Organizational psychology. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970.

Schein, V. Political strategies for implementing organizational change. Group and Organization Studies. March 1977, 2(1), 42-48.

Seashore, S.E. Defining and measuring the quality of working life. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 1), New York: Free Press, 1975.

Seeman, N. On the personal consequences of alienation in work. American Sociological Review, April 1967, 32(2), 273-285.

Select Committee on Small Business. 96th Congress, 1st United States Senate Session. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1979.

Seybolt, J.W. & Gruenfeld, L. The discriminant validity of work alienation and work satisfaction measures. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 49, 1976, 193-202.

Sheppard, H., Hoffenberg, M., Ohlstrom, B., Gallino, C., Goddard, J., Hanson, R. & Takezawa, S. Report of the task force on measurement. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life

(Vol. 1), New York: Free Press, 1975.

Sheppard, H.L. Asking the right questions in job satisfaction. Monthly Labor Review, April 1973, pp. 51-52.

Sheppard, H.L. & Herrick, N.A. Where have all the robots gone? New York: Free Press, 1972.

Slocum, J., Topichak, P., & Kuhn, D. A cross-cultural study of need satisfaction and need importance for operative employees. Personnel Psychology. 24, 1971, 435-445.

Small Business Employee Ownership Act. 96th Congress, 1st United States Senate Session, Calendar No. 95, Report No. 96-93. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

Smith, P.C., Kendall, L. & Hulin, C. The measurement of satisfaction in work and retirement. In J.W. Seybolt & L. Gruenfeld, The discriminant validity of work alienation and work satisfaction measures. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 49, 1976, 193-202.

Spink, P. Some comments on the quality of work life. Journal of Occupational Psychology. 1975, 48, 179-184.

Stokes, B. Democracy in Chile: At work in the factory. Washington Post. Sunday, October 22, 1978, p. N2.

Strauss, G. Workers: Attitudes and adjustments in the American assembly: The worker and the job: Coping with change. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1974.

Takezawa, S. Changing workers' values and implications of policy in

Japan. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 1). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Tannenbaum, A.S. Rank, clout, workers' satisfaction: Pecking order, capitalist and communist style. Psychology Today, September 1975, 9, 40-43.

Tannenbaum, A.S., Kavesc, B., Rosner, N., Vianells, M., & Wilger, G. Hierarchy in organizations: An international comparison. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass, 1974.

Taylor, J.C. Job satisfaction and quality of work life: A reassessment. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1977, 50, 243-252.

Todd, D. A nonestablishment approach to organizational development. Unpublished manuscript, University of Michigan, December 2, 1968.

Tornquist, D. Strikes in Yugoslavia. Working Papers. Spring 1975, 3(9), 50-61.

Touraine, A. La sociedad post-industrial. Barcelona: Ediciones Ariel, 1969.

Tregoe, B.B. What's wrong with job enrichment. Dun's, December 1973, 102, 157-158.

Udy, S. Trabajo en los sociedades tradicional y moderna. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores, 1970.

W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research and the Harvard Project on Technology, Work and Character. The Bolivar project: Final technical report. Washington, D.C.: Harvard Project on Technology, Work and

Character, February 15, 1974.

Walfish, B. Job satisfaction decline in major aspects of work, says Michigan study: All occupational groups included. World of Work Report, 1979, 4(3), 17-22.

Walfish, B. Workers report wage, benefit problems: See lack of control over work, hours in Michigan Employment Survey. World of Work Report, 1979, 4(2), 9-15.

Wallach, M., Kogan, N., & Bem, D. Group influence on individual risk taking. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1962, 65(2), 75-86.

Walton, R.E. Criteria for quality of working life. In L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherns (Eds.), The quality of working life (Vol. 2). New York: Free Press, 1975.

Weinstein, D. & Weinstein, M.A. Living sociology: A critical introduction. New York: David McKay, 1974.

West German Trade Union Federation. Co-determination in the Federal Republic of Germany. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

White, B. The criteria for job satisfaction: Is interesting work most important? Monthly Labor Review. May 1977, pp. 30-34.

Wier, S. Rebellion in American labor's rank and file. In G. Hunnius, D. Garson & J. Case (Eds.), Workers' control: A reader on labor and social change. New York: Random House, 1973.

Winpinsinger, W.W. Job enrichment: A union view. Monthly Labor Review, April 1973, pp. 54-56.

Work in America: Report of a special task force to the Secretary of HEW. Boston: MIT Press, 1973.

Work in America Institute. Worker alienation: Highlights of the literature. Scarsdale, N.Y.: Work in America Institute Studies in Productivity, 1978.

Work Relations Group. Uncovering the hidden history of the American workplace. The review of radical political economists, Winter 1978, 10(4), 1-23.

World of work report: Company ownership affects attitudes, performance of employees, says report. Work in America Institute, November 1978, 3(11), 91-92.

Yankelovich, D. The new psychology contracts at work. Psychology Today, May 1978, 11(12), 46-50.

Zimbalist, A. The limits of work humanization. Review of Radical Political Economics. Summer 1975, 7(2), 50-59.

Zukin, S. The Paris Conference on Self-Management. Telos. Winter 1978, pp. 148-157.

Zwerdling, D. Managing workers. Working Papers, Fall 1974, pp. 9-17.

Zwerdling, D. Employee ownership: How well is it working. Working Papers for a New Society, May/June 1979, 7(1), 14-27.

APPENDIX

Training the Organizational Analyst

We began this study by stating that the idea for a qualitative analysis of this area arose from some unanswered questions which I encountered in my education. After pooling the information for this thesis from many varied sources, I reaffirmed my impressions about the need for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of organizational psychology. What follows comprises my ideas on an interesting academic alternative for our field.

We have so far reviewed reforms related to the field in general. However, it is important to extend change to every level of the area and this involves the academic environment as well as researchers and practitioners.

The suggestions offered in this section apply to what I think could be an alternative academic program available for organizational behavior students, especially those inclined towards the study of work satisfaction. The experiences outlined are geared to learning not only about the field of organizational behavior but also about this work's social and economic effects, its origins and the development of a variety of perspectives. It is not intended as a strict, all-inclusive program of work and the level of studies--undergraduate or graduate--

is of lesser relevance than to recognize that some formal contact with the suggested areas is essential for a more ample and hopefully more accurate perception of our work and its significance. The goal is to prepare persons who can visualize the analysis of problems from a comprehensive point of view, help to structure work in less alienating ways and according to each situation and develop consciousness about the need for system-wide reform for the creation of measures to deter the continuation of work alienation.

In addition, a program that allows student input regarding the direction of their studies seems a logical component of an area where graduates will frequently confront issues of power and decision-making. As such, it would seem incomplete to attempt to prepare consultants and trainers of labor awareness by mere literature reading. To avoid the contradiction between what students should learn and what they are taught, a study program in this field should emphasize, much like the worker satisfaction data has shown, that significant participation, individuality and strong familiarization with decision-making skills are a prerequisite for the preparation of well-rounded organizational behaviorists.

Looking back upon my own education, I recognize that an interdisciplinary approach to this area seems most sensible. The organizational analyst should from the outset be aware that answers to workplace dilemmas are evidence of many forces coming together at one specific moment.

Therefore, solutions will probably be more accurate and the development of preventive measures for a healthy working environment are best approached from an interdisciplinary perspective.

This is already a strong limitation for students in present organizational programs throughout the United States. Intra-area education and the number of faculties willing to sponsor such a flexible program are limited. Still, the prospective organizational analyst should attempt to familiarize herself with as many of the following experiences as possible (see Table 2).

In Psychology, the most relevant areas are those usually found under the Social Psychology rubric. Knowledge about group dynamics, social intervention, attitude formation and perception are important to the understanding of social behavior. Organizational Psychology courses are also pertinent, since these focus more specifically on personal organizational fit, adaptation and possibilities for change.

Classes in the Business Administration area are essential for the information on how organizations are generally structured and managed. To expose students to varied forms of administrative theory, a course on cross-cultural structural and managerial systems would be a strong asset. Organizational behavior classes here can offer the more business-oriented student an emphasis on worker productivity.

Under Sociology, courses in social risks and change and political sociology are welcome in order to understand the sociopolitical effect

Psychology	Business Administration	Labor Relations
Social Psychology	Administrative Theory	Management-union Relations
Organizational Behavior/ Psychology*	Cross-cultural Structural and Management Systems	Comparative Labor Movements
	Organizational Behavior*	
Sociology	**Economics**	**Education**
Social Change	Economic History	Effective Communication
Political Sociology	Comparative Economic Models	Teaching Practicum
Organizations as Complex Systems*		
Field Methods**	Summer Internship**	Organizational Interventions**
Statistics**	(Consulting, Organized Labor, Teaching)	

Table 2. Proposed program of studies for organizational behaviorists. The program stresses diversity in perspectives to the study of work, fosters the development of a historical/ situational view of alienation and allows for students to follow their own inclinations.

* Only one of these courses would be required.
** These activities can be sponsored by different schools/supervisors, as the student chooses as long as an equitable distribution between disciplines is maintained.

of organizations. The study of organizations as complex systems under this area could conceivably provide the widest perspective regarding organizational behavior.

To become familiarized with the effects of the larger economy on organization and worker behavior, a course on economic history would seem appropriate. Also, a seminar on comparative economic models can make the student aware of alternative systems and their effects.

Under Labor Relations, an introductory course is important to familiarize the future organizational analyst with labor issues. In addition, a course on management-union relations can provide an idea of how these procedures develop in organizations. A seminar on comparative labor movements is another way to learn that there are alternative structures which work efficiently.

The educational role of the organizational analyst has been stressed throughout this study. To this effect, courses in education can provide some experience in learning effective communication and transmission of information to others. A teaching practicum should be a requirement of all organizational behaviorists.

Finally, advanced statistics and a course on field methods of intervention should be required. The student could retain the right to select the faculty under which he takes certain courses. For example, the studies of statistics and of human behavior in organizations are generally available under Psychology, Business, Sociology, etc. Similarly,

courses in comparative organizational structures can be found in Business, Economics or Labor Relations schools. Each student should be allowed--according to his inclinations--to select which courses he will take from the different schools, as long as he maintains an equitable distribution of courses among all faculties.

In addition to the academic requirements, the students at the graduate level could be exposed to a number of work experiences. Participation in the development and implementation of, for example, three interventions should be a requirement. These activities could be provided and supervised by faculty member's or dissertation student's ongoing research. Participation in workshops arranged by management, union, and/or both parties could be encouraged so that the student could experience interventions originating from various sources. Written reports of these programs and the student's contribution to them could translate into credits equivalent to one course.

Finally, one summer internship would be a strong asset for the organizational behavior student. An extensive report on this experience would be a requirement, although the activity itself could be chosen from three alternatives. These would be: to intern in a consultant's firm, to work with a labor organization involved in some work redesign/quality of work life program or to offer a voluntary organizational behavior course to employees of any organization.

To summarize, I propose that students interested in effecting

long-lasting change in the work environment follow a program of studies that reflects the basic values of their work. Experiences like the ones listed above can foster the development of recognizing the effects of a wide gamut of factors working at the same time; can expose the students to the reality of alternatives to established systems and the possibilities of change; most importantly, it gives the person the opportunity to select activities according to their interests, an essential experience if we are to help others discover new organizational options, assert their choices and improve the quality of their work life.